

THE
WORKS
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.
DEAN OF ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN,
CONTAINING
ADDITIONAL LETTERS, TRACTS, AND POEMS,
NOT HITHERTO PUBLISHED ;
WITH
NOTES,
AND
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
BY
WALTER SCOTT, ESQ.

VOLUME IV.

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T R A C T S,
HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL,
DURING
THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

VOL. IV.

A

THE
EXAMINER,
CONTINUED.

No. XXVIII

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1710-11.

Inultus ut tu riseris Cotytta ?

Shall you Cotytto's feasts deride,
Yet safely triumph in your pride ?

[In answer to the Letter to the Examiner.]

SIR,

London, Feb. 15, 1710-11.

ALTHOUGH I have wanted leisure to acknowledge the honour of a letter you were pleased to write to me about six months ago, yet I have been very careful in obeying some of your commands,

* A letter to the Examiner, which occurs in the beginning of the work, before Swift had taken the management of it. It was written by Henry St John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, and pointed out the objects to which the Examiner's attention should be directed,

and am going on as fast as I can with the rest. I wish you had thought fit to have conveyed them to me by a more private hand than that of the printing-house. For, although I was pleased with a pattern of style and spirit which I proposed to imitate, yet I was sorry the world should be a witness how far I fell short in both.

I am afraid you did not consider what an abundance of work you have cut out for me, neither am I at all comforted by the promise you are so kind to make, that when I have performed my task, "D——n shall blush in his grave among the dead, Walpole among the living, and even Volpone shall feel some remorse" How the gentleman in his grave may have kept his countenance, I cannot inform you, having no acquaintance at all with the sexton, but for the other two, I take leave to assure you, there have not yet appeared the least signs of blushing or remorse in either, although some very good opportunities have offered, if they had thought fit to accept them, so that, with your permission, I would rather engage to continue this work until they be in their graves too, which I am sure will happen much sooner than the other.

You desire I would collect some of those indignities offered last year to her majesty. I am ready to oblige you, and have got a pretty tolerable collection by me, which I am in doubt whether to publish by itself in a large volume in folio, or scatter them here and there occasionally in my papers; although indeed I am sometimes thinking to stifle them altogether; because such a history will be apt to give foreigners a monstrous opinion of our country. But since it is your absolute opinion, that the world should be informed, I will, with the first occasion, pick out

a few choice instances, and let them take their chance in the ensuing papers. I have likewise in my cabinet certain quires of paper, filled with facts of corruption, mismanagement, cowardice, treachery, avarice, ambition, and the like; with an alphabetical table, to save trouble. And perhaps you will not wonder at the care I take to be so well provided, when you consider the vast expense I am at. I feed weekly two or three wit-starved writers, who have no visible support; beside several others, who live upon my offals. In short, I am like a nurse who suckles twins at one time, and has besides one or two whelps constantly to draw her breasts.

I must needs confess, (and it is with grief I speak it,) that I have been the innocent cause of a great circulation of dulness, at the same time, I have often wondered how it has come to pass, that these industrious people, after poring so constantly upon the Examiner, a paper writ with plain sense, and in a tolerable style, have made so little improvement. I am sure it would have fallen out quite otherwise with me, for, by what I have seen of their performances, (and I am credibly informed they are all of a piece,) if I had perused them until now, I should have been fit for little, but to make an advocate in the same cause.

You, sir, perhaps will wonder, as most others do, what end these angry folks propose in writing perpetually against the Examiner: it is not to beget a better opinion of the late ministry, or with any hope to convince the world, that I am in the wrong in any one fact I relate, they know all that to be lost labour, and yet their design is important enough; they would fain provoke me, by all sorts of methods within the length of their

capacity, to answer their papers; which would render mine wholly useless to the public; for, if it once came to rejoinder and reply, we should be all upon a level, and then their work would be done

There is one gentleman* indeed, who has written three small pamphlets upon the management of the war, and the treaty of peace. These I had intended to have bestowed a paper in examining, and could easily have made it appear, that whatever he says of truth, relates not at all to the evils we complain of, or controls one syllable of what I have ever advanced. Nobody, that I know of, did ever dispute the Duke of Marlborough's courage, conduct, or success; they have been always unquestionable, and will continue to be so, in spite of the malice of his enemies, or, which is yet more, the weakness of his advocates. The nation only wishes to see him taken out of ill hands, and put into better. But what is all this to the conduct of the late ministry, the shameful mismanagements in Spain, or the wrong steps in the treaty of peace, the secret of which will not bear the light, and is consequently by this author very poorly defended? These, and many other things, I would have shown; but, upon second thoughts, determined to have it done in a discourse by itself, rather than take up room here, and break into the design of this paper, whence I have resolved to banish controversy as much as possible. But the postscript to his third pamphlet was enough to disgust me from having

* Dr Hare, afterward bishop of Chichester, chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough, published four several tracts on the management of the war, under the title of "Letters to a Tory."

any dealings at all with such a writer; unless that part was left to some footman he has picked up among the boys who follow the camp, whose character it would suit much better than that of the supposed author. at least, the foul language, the idle, impotent menaces, and the gross perverting of an innocent expression in the fourth Examiner, joined to that respect I shall ever have for the function of a divine, would incline me to believe so. But, when he turns off his footman, and disclaims that postscript, I will tear it out, and see how far the rest deserves to be considered.

But, sir, I labour under a much greater difficulty, upon which I should be glad to hear your advice. I am worried on one side by the Whigs, for being too severe, and by the Tories on the other, for being too gentle. I have formerly hinted a complaint of this, but, having lately received two peculiar letters, among many others, I thought nothing could better represent my condition, or the opinion which the warm men of both sides have of my conduct, than to send you a transcript of each. The former is exactly in these words.

“ To the Examiner.

“ MY EXAMINER,

“ By your continual reflecting upon the conduct of the late ministry, and by your encomiums on the present, it is as clear as the sun at noon day, that you are a jesuit, or nonjuror, employed by the friends of the pretender, to endeavour to introduce popery, and slavery, and arbitrary power, and to infringe the sacred act for toleration of dissenters. Now, sir, since the most ingenious authors, who write weekly against you, are not

able to teach you better manners, I would have you to know, that those great and excellent men, as low as you think them at present, do not want friends that will take the first proper occasion to cut your throat, as all such enemies to moderation ought to be served. It is well you have cleared another person from being author of your cursed libels; although, d---n me, perhaps after all, that may be a bamboozle too. However, I hope we shall soon ferret you out. Therefore I advise you as a friend to let fall your pen, and retire betimes; for our patience is now at an end. It is enough to lose our power and employments, without setting the whole nation against us. Consider, three years is the life of a party, d---n me, every dog has his day, and it will be our turn next; therefore take warning, and learn to sleep in a whole skin; or, whenever we are uppermost, by G---d you shall find no mercy."

The other letter was in the following terms :

" To the Examiner

" SIR,

" I am a country member, and constantly send a dozen of your papers down to my electors. I have read them all, but, I confess, not with the satisfaction I expected. It is plain you know a great deal more than you write; why will you not let us have it all out? We are told, that the queen has been a long time treated with insolence, by those she has most obliged. Pray, sir, let us have a few good stories upon that head. We have been cheated of several millions; why will you not set a mark on the knaves who are guilty, and show us what ways they took to rob the public at such a rate? inform us how we came to be disappointed of peace about two years

ago. In short, turn the whole mystery of iniquity inside out, that every body may have a view of it. But above all explain to us, what was the bottom of that same impeachment; I am sure I never liked it, for at that very time a dissenting preacher in our neighbourhood came often to see our parson; it could be for no good, for he would walk about the barns and the stables, and desired to look into the church, as who should say, These will shortly be mine: and we all believed he was then contriving some alterations, against he got into possession. And I shall never forget, that a Whig justice offered me then very high for my bishop's lease. I must be so bold to tell you, sir, that you are too favourable; I am sure there was no living in quiet for us, while they were in the saddle. I was turned out of the commission, and called a jacobite, although it cost me a thousand pounds in joining with the prince of Orange at the Revolution. The discoveries I would have you make, are of some facts, for which they ought to be hanged; not that I value their heads, but I would see them exposed, which may be done upon the owner's shoulders as well as upon a pole," &c.

These, sir, are the sentiments of a whole party on one side, and of considerable numbers on the other: however, taking the *medium* between these extremes, I think to go on as I have hitherto done, although I am sensible my paper would be more popular, if I did not lean too much on the favourable side. For nothing delights the people more, than to see their oppressors humbled, and all their actions painted with proper colours, set out in open view, *exactos tyrannos densum humeris bibit aure vulgus*.

But as for the Whigs, I am in some doubt, whether this mighty concern they show for the honour of the late ministry, may not be affected; at least whether their masters will thank them for their zeal in such a cause. It is, I think, a known story of a gentleman, who fought another for calling him a son of a whore, that the lady desired her son to make no more quarrels upon that subject, because it was true. For pray, sir, does it not look like a jest, that such a pernicious crew, after draining our wealth, and discovering the most destructive designs against our church and state, instead of thanking fortune that they are got off safe in their persons and plunder, should hire these bullies of the pen, to defend their reputations? I remember, I thought it the hardest case in the world, when a poor acquaintance of mine, having fallen in among sharps, where he lost all his money, and then complaining he was cheated, got a good beating into the bargain, for offering to affront gentlemen. I believe the only reason, why these pulloiners of the public cause such a clutter to be made about their reputations, is, to prevent inquisitions that might tend toward making them refund; like those women they call shoplifters, who, when they are challenged for their thefts, appear to be mighty angry and affronted, for fear of being searched.

I will dismiss you, sir, when I have taken notice of one particular. Perhaps you may have observed in the tolerated factious papers of the week, that the Earl of Rochester is frequently reflected on, for having been ecclesiastical commissioner, and lord-treasurer, in the reign of the late King James. The fact is true, and it will not be denied, to his immortal honour, that, be-

cause he could not comply with the measures then taking, he resigned both those employments, of which the latter was immediately supplied by a commission, composed of two popish lords, and the present Earl of Godolphin *

NO. XXIX

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1710-11.

Laus summa in fortunæ bonis, non extulisse se in potestate, non fuisse insolentem in pecunia, non se prætulisse alius propter abundantiam fortunæ.

In the goods of fortune it is the highest commendation to say, that he was not elated in power, insolent in riches, or contemptuous amid the overflowing of fortune.

I AM conscious to myself, that I write this paper with no other intention but of doing good. I never received injury from the late ministry, nor advantage from the present, farther than is common with every good subject. There were among the former, one or two, who must be allowed to have possessed very valuable qualities, but, proceeding by a system of politics which our constitution could not suffer, and discover-

* This malicious insinuation being incontrovertible in point of its general truth, gave great uneasiness to the whiggish papers. The Medley could only reply, that the Examiner might have said with as much truth, that Lord Rochester's place in the commission was supplied by Lord Godolphin, and two protestant knights, Sir Stephen Fox, and Sir John Ernle.

ing a contempt of all religion, especially of that which has been so happily established among us ever since the Reformation, they seem to have been justly suspected of no very good inclinations to either

It is possible, that a man may speculatively prefer the constitution of another country, or a Utopia of his own, before that of the nation where he is born and lives; yet, from considering the dangers of innovation, the corruptions of mankind, and the frequent impossibility of reducing ideas to practice, he may join heartily in preserving the present order of things, and be a true friend to the government already settled. So in religion, a man may perhaps have little or none of it at heart; yet if he conceals his opinions, if he endeavours to make no proselytes, advances no impious tenets in writing or discourse; if, according to the common atheistical notion, he believes religion to be only a contrivance of politicians for keeping the vulgar in awe, and that the present model is better adjusted than any other to so useful an end; although the condition of such a man, as to his own future state, be very deplorable; yet Providence, which often works good out of evil, can make even such a man an instrument for contributing toward the preservation of the church.

On the other side; I take a state to be truly in danger, both as to its religion and government, when a set of ambitious politicians, bled up in hatred to the constitution, and a contempt for all religion, are forced upon exerting these qualities, in order to keep or increase their power by widening their bottom, and taking in (like Mahomet) some principles from every party, that is in any way discontented at the present

faith and settlement, which was manifestly our case. Upon this occasion, I remember to have asked some considerable Whigs, whether it did not bring a disreputation upon their body, to have the whole herd of presbyterians, independents, atheists, anabaptists, deists, quakers, and socinians, openly and universally listed under their banners? They answered, that all this was absolutely necessary, in order to make a balance against the Tories, and all little enough for indeed, it was as much as they could possibly do, although assisted with the absolute power of disposing of every employment; while the bulk of the English gentry kept firm to their old principles in church and state.

But, notwithstanding what I have hitherto said, I am informed, several among the Whigs continue still so refractory, that they will hardly allow the heads of their party to have entertained any designs of ruining the constitution; or that they would have endeavoured it if they had continued in power. I beg their pardon, if I have discovered a secret; but who could imagine they ever intended it should be one, after those overt acts with which they thought fit to conclude their face? But perhaps they now find it convenient to deny vigorously, that the question may remain, why was the old ministry changed, which they urge on without ceasing, as if no occasion in the least had been given; but that all were owing to the insinuations of crafty men, practising upon the weakness of an easy prince: I shall therefore offer, among a hundred, one reason for this change, which I think would justify any monarch, who ever reigned, for the like proceeding

It is notorious enough, how highly princes

have been blamed in the histories of all countries, particularly of our own, upon the account of their minions; who have been ever justly odious to the people for their insolence and avarice, and engrossing the favours of their masters. Whoever has been the least conversant in the English story, cannot but have heard of Gaveston, the Spenseis, and the Earl of Oxford, who, by the excess and abuse of their power, cost the princes they served, or rather governed, their crowns and lives. However, in the case of minions, it must at least be acknowledged, that the prince is pleased and happy, although his subjects be aggrieved, and he has the plea of friendship to excuse him, which is a disposition of generous minds. Besides, a wise minion, although he be haughty to others, is humble and insinuating to his master, and cultivates his favour by obedience and respect. But our misfortune has been a great deal worse, we have suffered for some years under the oppression, the avarice, and insolence of those, for whom the queen had neither esteem nor friendship, who rather seemed to snatch their own dues, than receive the favour of their sovereign; and were so far from returning respect, that they forgot common good manners. They imposed on their prince, by urging the necessity of affairs of their own creating they first raised difficulties, and then offered them as arguments to keep themselves in power. They united themselves, against nature and principle, to a party they had always abhorred, and which was now content to come in upon any terms, leaving them and their creatures in full possession of the court: then they urged the formidable strength of that party, and the dangers which must follow by disobliging it. So that it seems almost a miracle how a prin-

cess, thus besieged on all sides, could alone have courage and prudence enough to extricate herself.

And indeed there is a point of history relating to this matter, which well deserves to be considered. When her majesty came to the crown, she took into favour and employment several persons, who were esteemed the best friends of the old constitution; among whom none were reckoned farther gone in the high church principles (as they are usually called) than two or three who had at that time most credit, and ever since, until within these few months, possessed all power at court.* So that the first umbrage given to the Whigs, and the pretences for clamouring against France and the pretender, were derived from them. And I believe nothing appeared then more unlikely, than that such different opinions should ever incorporate, that party having, upon former occasions, treated those very persons with enmity enough. But some lords then about court, and in the queen's good graces, not able to endure those growing impositions upon the prince and people, presumed to interpose; and were con-

* Queen Anne, according to the Duchess of Marlborough's account, had a strong bias to high church principles, and an unconquerable prejudice against the Whigs, whom she considered as alike enemies to the monarchy and the hierarchy. Hence, on her accession to the throne, she filled her privy council with Buckingham, Jersey, Nottingham, Seymour, Wight, and Rochester, all distinguished Tories. Marlborough and Godolphin owed their favour, in the beginning of the reign, to professing the same principles. But the influence of the Duchess, then omnipotent in the Queen's favour, was uniformly exerted in favour of the Whigs; and as she governed both the Queen, her husband, and Godolphin, she was enabled, first to balance the interest of the Tories at court, and at length totally to destroy it. And although the aggrandizement of her husband and his family was certainly the Duchesses first object, her second was to effect it by allying them to the Whig interest.

sequently soon removed and disgraced. However, when a most exorbitant grant was proposed, antecedent to any visible merit, it miscarried in parliament, for want of being seconded by those who had most credit in the House; and who, having always opposed the like excesses in a former reign, thought it their duty to do so still, to show to the world that the dislike was not against persons, but things.* But this was to cross the oligarchy in the tenderest point; a point which outweighed all considerations of duty and gratitude to their prince, or regard to the constitution, and therefore, after having in several private meetings concerted measures with their old enemies, and granted as well as received conditions, they began to change their style and their countenance, and to put it as a maxim in the mouths of their emissaries, that England must be saved by Whigs. This unnatural league was afterward cultivated by another incident, I mean the act of security, and the consequences of it, which every body knows, when (to use the words of my correspondent †) the sovereign authority was parcelled out among the faction, and made the purchase of indemnity for an offending minister. Thus the union of the two kingdoms, improved that between the ministry and the junto, which was afterward

* In 1702, the queen created Lord Marlborough a duke, and sent a message to the commons, expressing a wish that they would enable her to settle a pension of 5000*l.* a year upon him out of the post office revenue. But as this was before the Duke had commenced his brilliant career of victory, the commons only saw in the proposal, a desire to gratify the husband of a female favourite, and declined compliance. As the Tories on this occasion voted against the court, it may be supposed still farther to have alienated the Duke of Marlborough from that party.

† Letter to the Examiner.

cemented by their mutual danger in that storm they so narrowly escaped about three years ago, but however was not quite perfected till prince George's* death; and then they went lovingly on together, both satisfied with their several shares, and at full liberty to gratify their predominant inclinations, the first, their avarice and ambition; the other, their models of innovation in church and state.

Therefore, whoever thinks fit to revive that baffled question, why was the late ministry changed? may receive the following answer, that it was become necessary by the insolence and avarice of some about the queen,† who, in order to perpetuate their tyranny, had made a monstrous alliance with those who profess principles destructive to our religion and government. If this will not suffice, let him make an abstract of all the abuses I have mentioned in my former papers, and view them together; after which, if he still remain unsatisfied, let him suspend his opinion a few weeks longer. Although, after all, I think the question as trifling as that of the papists, when they ask us, where was our religion before Luther? And indeed the ministry was changed for the same reasons that religion was reformed; because a thousand corruptions had crept into the discipline and doctrine of the state, by the pride, the avarice, the fraud, and the ambition of those, who administered to us in secular affairs.

I heard myself censured the other day in a coffeehouse, for seeming to glance in the letter to

* Prince George of Denmark, husband to the Queen, favoured the Tories at all times, nor could they be said quite to have lost their interest at court till his death.

† The Marlborough family.

Crassus against a great man, who is still in employment, and likely to continue so. What if I had really intended that such an application should be given it? I cannot perceive how I could be justly blamed for so gentle a reproof. If I saw a handsome young fellow going to a ball at court, with a great smut upon his face, could he take it ill in me to point out the place, and desire him, with abundance of good words, to pull out his handkerchief and wipe it off, or bring him to a glass, where he might plainly see it with his own eyes? Does any man think I shall suffer my pen to inveigh against vices, only because they are charged upon persons who are no longer in power? Every body knows, that certain vices are more or less pernicious, according to the stations of those who possess them. For example, lewdness and intemperance are not of so bad consequences in a town-rake, as in a divine, cowardice in a lawyer, is more supportable than in an officer of the army. If I should find fault with an admiral because he wanted politeness, or an alderman for not understanding Greek, that indeed would be to go out of the way for occasion of quarrelling. But excessive avarice in a general is, I think, the greatest defect he can be liable to, next to the want of courage and conduct; and may be attended with the most ruinous consequences, as it was in Crassus, who to that vice alone owed the destruction of himself and his army. It is the same thing in praising men's excellencies, which are more or less valuable, as the person you commend has occasion to employ them. A man may perhaps mean honestly, yet, if he be not able to spell, he shall never have my vote to be a secretary. Another may have wit and learning, in a post, where honesty with plain common sense are

of much more use. You may praise a soldier for his skill at chess, because it is said to be a military game, and the emblem of drawing up an army; but this to a treasurer would be no more a compliment, than if you called him a gamester or a jockey.*

P S. I have received a letter relating to Mr Greenshields, the person that sent it may know, that I will say something to it in the next paper.

No. XXX.

THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 1710-11.

Quæ enim domus tam stabilis, quæ tam firma civitas est, quæ non odusatquedissidus funditus possit everti ?

What family so established, what society so firmly united, that it cannot be broken and dissolved by intestine quarrels and divisions ?

If we examine what societies of men are in closest union among themselves, we shall find them either to be those who are engaged in some evil design, or who labour under one common misfortune. Thus the troops of banditti in several countries abroad, the knots of highwaymen in our own nation, the several tribes of sharpers, thieves, and pickpockets, with many others, are so firmly knit together, that nothing is more difficult than to break or dissolve their several gangs:

* Alluding to the favourite foibles of Godolphin.

so likewise those who are fellow sufferers under any misfortune, whether it be in reality or opinion, are usually contracted into a very strict union; as we may observe in the papists throughout the kingdom, under those real difficulties which are justly put on them, and in the several schisms of presbyterians, and other sects, under that grievous persecution of the modern kind, called want of power. And the reason why such confederacies are kept so sacred and inviolable, is very plain, because, in each of those cases I have mentioned, the whole body is moved by one spirit in pursuit of one general end, and the interest of individuals is not crossed by each other, or by the whole.

Now both these motives are joined to unite the high-flying Whigs at present. they have been always engaged in an evil design, and of late they are faster rivetted by that terrible calamity, the loss of power. So that whatever designs a mischievous crew of dark confederates may possibly entertain, who will stop at no means to compass them, may be justly apprehended from these.

On the other side, those who wish well to the public, and would gladly contribute to its service, are apt to differ in their opinions about the methods of promoting it: and when their party flourishes, are sometimes envious at those in power; ready to overvalue their own merit, and be impatient until it be rewarded by the measure they have prescribed for themselves. There is a farther topic of contention, which a ruling party is apt to fall into, in relation to retrospections, and inquiry into past miscarriages, wherein some are thought too warm and zealous, others too cool and remiss; while in the mean time these divisions are industriously fomented by the discarded fac-

tion ; which, although it be an old practice, has been much improved in the schools of the jesuits ; who, when they despaired of peiverting this nation to popery, by arguments or plots against the state, sent their emissaries to subdivide us into schisms.* And this expedient is now, with great propriety, taken up by our men of incensed moderation ; because they suppose themselves able to attack the strongest of our subdivisions, and to subdue us one after another Nothing better resembles this pioceeding, than that famous combat between the Horatii and Curiatii, where, two of the former being killed, the thud, who remained entire and untouched, was able to kill his three wounded adversaries, after he had divided them by a stratagem. I well know with how tender a hand all this should be touched ; yet at the same time I think it my duty to warn the friends, as well as expose the enemies of the public weal ; and to begin preaching up union, upon the first suspicion that any steps are made to disturb it.

But the two chief subjects of discontent, which, upon most great changes in the management of public affairs, are apt to breed differences among those who are in possession, are what I have just now mentioned ; a desire of punishing the corruption of former managers, and rewarding merit among those who have been any way instiumental or consenting to the change. The first of these is a point so nice, that I shall purposely wave it ; but the latter I take to fall piopeily within my

* He alludes to the faction of violent Tories called the October club, who associated themselves to enforce more violent measures against the late ministers.

district By merit, I here understand that value which every man puts upon his own deservings from the public And I believe, there could not be a more difficult employment found out, than that of paymaster general to this sort of merit; or a more noisy, crowded place, than a court of judicature erected to settle and adjust every man's claim upon that article. I imagine, if this had fallen into the fancy of the ancient poets, they would have dressed it up after their manner into an agreeable fiction, and given us a genealogy and description of merit, perhaps not very different from that which follows.

A poetical genealogy and description of MERIT.

“THAT true Merit was the son of Virtue and Honour; but that there was likewise a spurious child, who usurped the name, and whose parents were Vanity and Impudence That at a distance there was a great resemblance between them, and they were often mistaken for each other. That the bastard issue had a loud shrill voice, which was perpetually employed in cravings and complaints; while the other never spoke louder than a whisper, and was often so bashful that he could not speak at all. That in all great assemblies the false Merit would step before the true, and stand just in his way, was constantly at court, or great men's levees, or whispering in some minister's ear. That the more you fed him, the more hungry and importunate he grew. That he often passed for the true son of Virtue and Honour, and the genuine, for an impostor That he was born distorted and a dwarf, but by force of art appeared of handsome shape, and taller than the usual size; and that none but those who were wise

and good, as well as vigilant, could discover his littleness or deformity. That the true Merit had been often forced to the indignity of applying to the false, for his credit with those in power, and to keep himself from starving. That false Merit filled the antichambers with a crew of his dependants and creatures, such as projectors, schematists, occasional converts to a party, prostitute flatterers, starving writers, buffoons, shallow politicians, empty orators, and the like, who all owned him for their patron, and he grew discontented if they were not immediately fed."

This metaphorical description of false Merit is, I doubt, calculated for most countries in Christendom; as to our own, I believe it may be said, with a sufficient reserve of charity, that we are fully able to reward every man among us according to his real deservings. and I think I may add, without suspicion of flattery, that never any prince had a ministry with a better judgment to distinguish between false and real merit, than that which is now at the helm; or whose inclination, as well as interest, was greater to encourage the latter. And it ought to be observed, that those great and excellent persons we see at the head of affairs, are of the queen's own personal, voluntary choice, not forced upon her by any insolent, overgrown favourite, or by the pretended necessity of complying with an unwholesome faction.

Yet these are the persons whom those scandals to the press, in their daily pamphlets and papers, openly revile as so ignominious a rate, as I believe was never tolerated before under any government. For surely no lawful power derived from a prince should be so far affronted, as to leave those who

are in authority exposed to every scurrilous libeller. because in this point I make a mighty difference between those who are in, and those who are out of power, not upon any regard to their persons, but the stations they are placed in by the sovereign. And if my distinction be right, I think I might appeal to any man, whether, if a stranger were to read the invectives which are daily published against the present ministry, and the outrageous fury of the authors against me for censuring the last, he would not conclude the Whigs to be at this time in full possession of power and favour, and the Tories entirely at their mercy. But all this now ceases to be a wonder, since the queen herself is no longer spared, witness the libel published some days ago, under the title of "A Letter to Sir Jacob Banks,"* where the reflections upon her sacred majesty are much more plain and direct, than ever the Examiner thought fit to publish against the most obnoxious persons in a ministry, discarded for endeavouring

* Sir Jacob Banks, member for Minehead, and a zealous Tory, had presented in 1709-10 an address from that ancient borough, professing, in the broadest terms, that kings were accountable to God alone, and that subjects must obey notwithstanding any oppression or tyranny whatever. Mr Benson, a young gentleman of parts, who had resided for some time in Sweden, was hence led to address to this knight of the high church, a pamphlet entitled "A Letter to Sir J—— B——, by birth a Swede, but naturalized, and a member in the present parliament, concerning the late Minehead doctrine, which was established by a certain free parliament in Sweden, to the utter enslaving of that kingdom."

The letter-writer, under pretence of giving an account of the revolution which introduced absolute monarchy into Sweden, artfully selects such circumstances as came nearest a parallel between the events which preceded that alteration of government, and those attending Queen Anne's change of ministry.

the ruin of their prince and country * Cæsar indeed threatened to hang the pirates for presuming to disturb him, while he was their prisoner aboard their ship but it was Cæsar who did so, and he did it to a crew of public robbers; and it became the greatness of his spirit, for he lived to execute what he had threatened. Had they been in his power and sent such a message, it could be imputed to nothing but the extremes of impudence, folly, or madness

I had a letter last week relating to Mr Greenshields, an episcopal clergyman of Scotland, and the writer seems to be a gentleman of that part of Britain I remember formerly to have read a printed account of Mr Greenshield's case, who has been prosecuted and silenced, for no other reason beside reading divine service after the manner of the church of England to his own congregation, who desired it, though, as the gentleman

* The author talks of this pamphlet more respectfully in a letter to Lord Peterborough, and at the same time explains his own modification of the grand Shibboleth of the parties "Here is a pamphlet come out, called a letter to Sir Jacob Banks, shewing that the liberty of Sweden was destroyed by the principle of passive obedience. I know not whether his quotation be fair, but the piece is shrewdly written, and, in my opinion, not to be answered otherwise than by disclaiming that sort of passive obedience which the Tories are charged with. The dispute would soon be ended, if the dunces who write upon each side would plainly tell us what the object of this passive obedience is in our country, for I dare swear nine in ten of the Whigs will allow it to be the legislature, and as many of the Tories deny it to the Prince alone; and I hardly ever saw a Whig and Tory together, whom I could not immediately reconcile on that article when I made them explain themselves." *To Lord Peterborough, February 1710-11.* This passage merits peculiar attention, as written precisely at the time when Swift was endeavouring to put such an explanation on the peculiar tenets of the Tories, as he might find himself at liberty to hold and to support. See *Examiner*, No. 33.

who writes to me says, there is no law in Scotland against those meetings; and he adds, that the sentence pronounced against Mr Greenshields will soon be affirmed, if some care be not taken to prevent it. I am altogether uninformed in the particulars of this case, and besides, to treat it justly would not come within the compass of my paper; therefore I could wish the gentleman would undertake it in a discourse by itself, and I should be glad he would inform the public in one fact, whether episcopal assemblies are freely allowed in Scotland? It is notorious, that abundance of their clergy fled from thence some years ago into England and Ireland, as from a persecution, but it was alleged by their enemies, that they refused to take the oaths to the government, which however none of them scrupled when they came among us.* It is somewhat extraordinary to see our Whigs and fanatics keep such a stia about the sacred act of toleration, while their brethren will not allow a connivance in so near a neighbourhood; especially if what the gentleman insists on in his letter be true, that nine parts in ten of the nobility and gentry, and two in three of the commons, are episcopal, of which, one argument he offers is, the present choice of their representatives in both Houses, though opposed to the utmost by the preachings, thicatenings, and anathemas of the knk. Such usage to a majority

* The presbyterians, who had smarted severely under the penal laws against conventicles, made reprisals at the Revolution upon the episcopal clergy, whom they considered as authors of their sufferings. Many were driven from their cures with riot and insult, an exaggerated account of which proceedings is given in "An account of the present Persecution of the Church in Scotland, in several letters, London, 1690," 4to.

may, as he thinks, be of dangerous consequence; and I entirely agree with him. If these be the principles of the high kirk, God preserve at least the southern parts from their tyranny!

No. XXXI

THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1710-11.

——— *Garrul amiles*
Ex re fabellis.

——— Never fails
To cheer our converse with his pithy tales.

I HAD last week sent me, by an unknown hand, a passage out of Plato, with some hints how to apply it. That author puts a fable into the mouth of Aristophanes, with an account of the original of love. that mankind was at first created with four arms and legs, and all other parts double to what they are now, till Jupiter, as a punishment for his sins, cleft him in two with a thunderbolt; since which time we are always looking out for our other half, and this is the cause of love. But Jupiter threatened, that if they did not mend their manners, he would give them t'other slit, and leave them to hop about in the shape of figures in *basso relievo*. The effect of this last threatening, my correspondent imagines, is now come to pass; and that as the first splitting was the original of love, by inclining us to search for our other half; so the second was the cause of hatred, by prompting us to fly from our other side,

and dividing the same body into two, gave each slice the name of a party.

I approve the fable and application, with this refinement upon it: for parties do not only split a nation, but every individual among them, leaving each but half their strength, and wit, and honesty, and good nature, but one eye and ear for their sight and hearing, and equally lopping the rest of the senses. Where parties are pretty equal in a state, no man can perceive one bad quality in his own, or good one in his adversaries. Besides, party being a dry disagreeable subject, it renders conversation insipid or sour, and confines invention. I speak not here of the leaders but the insignificant crowd of followers in a party, who have been the instruments of mixing it in every condition and circumstance of life. As the zealots, among the Jews, bound the law about their forehead, and wrists, and hems of their garments, so the women, among us, have got the distinguishing marks of party in their muffs, their fans, and their furbelows. The Whig ladies put on their patches in a different manner from the Tories.* They have made schisms in the playhouse, and each have their particular sides at the opera; and when a man changes his party, he must infallibly count upon the loss of his mistress. I asked a gentleman the other day, how he liked such a lady? But he would not give me his opinion, till I had answered him whether she were a Whig or a Tory. Mr —, † since he is known

* There are some humorous papers in the Spectator on this odd mode of expressing party zeal.

† Mr Prior.

to visit the present ministry, and lay some time under a suspicion of writing the Examiner, is no longer a man of wit; his very poems have contracted a stupidity, many years after they were printed.

Having lately ventured upon a metaphorical genealogy of Merit, I thought it would be proper to add another of Party, or rather of Faction, (to avoid mistake,) not telling the reader whether it be my own or a quotation, till I know how it is approved. But whether I read, or dreamed it, the fable is as follows :

“ Liberty, the daughter of Oppression, after having brought forth several fair children, as Riches, Arts, Learning, Trade, and many others, was at last delivered of her youngest daughter, called Faction; whom Juno, doing the office of the midwife, distorted in her birth out of envy to the mother, whence it derived its peevishness and sickly constitution. However, as it is often the nature of parents to grow most fond of their youngest and disagreeablest children, so it happened with Liberty, who doated on this daughter to such a degree, that by her good will she would never suffer the girl to be out of her sight. As miss Faction grew up, she became so teimsgant and froward, that there was no enduring her any longer in Heaven. Jupiter gave her warning to be gone; and her mother, rather than forsake her, took the whole family down to earth. She landed first in Greece; was expelled by degrees through all the cities by her daughter's ill conduct, fled afterward to Italy, and, being banished thence, took shelter among the Goths, with whom she passed into most parts of Europe; but, being driven out every where, she began to lose esteem, and her daughter's faults were imputed to her-

self; so that at this time she has hardly a place in the world to return to. One would wonder what strange qualities this daughter must possess, sufficient to blast the influence of so divine a mother, and the rest of her children. She always affected to keep mean and scandalous company; valuing nobody but just as they agreed with her in every capricious opinion she thought fit to take up; and rigorously exacting compliance, though she changed her sentiments ever so often. Her great employment was, to breed discord among friends and relations, and make up monstrous alliances between those whose dispositions least resembled each other. Whoever offered to contradict her, though in the most insignificant trifle, she would be sure to distinguish by some ignominious appellation, and allow them to have neither honour, wit, beauty, learning, honesty, or common sense. She intruded into all companies at the most unseasonable times; mixed at balls, assemblies, and other parties of pleasure, haunted every coffee-house and bookseller's shop, and by her perpetual talking filled all places with disturbance and confusion; she buzzed about the merchant in the exchange, the divine in his pulpit, and the shopkeeper behind his counter. Above all, she frequented public assemblies, where she sat in the shape of an obscene, ominous bird, ready to prompt her friends, as they spoke."

If I understand this fable of Faction right, it ought to be applied to those who set themselves up against the true interest and constitution of their country, which I wish the undertakers for the late ministry would please to take notice of, or tell us by what figure of speech they pretend to call so great and unforced a majority, with the queen at their head, by the name of the

faction ; which is not unlike the phrase of the nonjurors, who, dignifying one or two deprived bishops, and half a score clergymen of the same stamp, with the title of the church of England, exclude all the rest as schismatics ; or like the presbyterians, laying the same accusation, with equal justice, against the established religion.

And here it may be worth inquiring, what are the true characteristics of a faction ; or how it is to be distinguished from that great body of the people who are friends to the constitution ? The heads of a faction are usually a set of upstarts, or men ruined in their fortunes, whom some great change in a government did at first out of their obscurity produce upon the stage. They associate themselves with those who dislike the old establishment, religious and civil. They are full of new schemes in politics and divinity ; they have an incurable hatred against the old nobility, and strengthen their party by dependants raised from the lowest of the people. They have several ways of working themselves into power ; but they are sure to be called, when a corrupt administration wants to be supported, against those who are endeavouring at a reformation ; and they firmly observe that celebrated maxim, of preserving power by the same arts by which it is attained. They act with the spirit of those who believe their time is but short, and their first care is, to heap up immense riches at the public expense ; in which they have two ends beside that common one of insatiable avarice, which are, to make themselves necessary, and to keep the commonwealth in dependence. Thus they hope to compass their design, which is, instead of fitting their principles to the constitution, to alter and

adjust the constitution to their own pernicious principles.

It is easy determining by this test, to which side the name of faction most properly belongs. But however, I will give them any system of law or regal government, from William the Conqueror to this present time, to try whether they can tally it with their late models; excepting only that of Cromwell, whom perhaps they will reckon for a monarch

If the present ministry, and so great a majority in the parliament and kingdom, be only a faction, it must appear by some actions which answer the idea we usually conceive from that word. Have they abused the prerogatives of the prince, or invaded the rights and liberties of the subject? have they offered at any dangerous innovations in church or state? have they broached any doctrines of heresy, rebellion, or tyranny? have any of them treated their sovereign with insolence, engrossed and sold all her favours, or deceived her by base, gross misrepresentations of her most faithful servants? These are the acts of a faction, and whoever has practised them, they and their followers must take up with the name.

It is usually reckoned a Whig principle to appeal to the people; but that is only when they have been so wise as to poison their understandings before-hand. Will they now stand to this appeal, and be determined by their *vox populi*, to which side their title of faction belongs? And that the people are now left to the natural freedom of their understanding and choice, I believe their adversaries will hardly deny. They will now refuse this appeal, and it is reasonable they should, and I will farther add, that if our people

resembled the old Grecians, there might be danger in such a trial. A pragmatICAL orator told a great man at Athens, that whenever the people were in their rage, they would certainly tear him to pieces; Yes, says the other, and they will do the same to you, whenever they are in their wits. But God be thanked, our populace is more merciful in their nature, and at present under better direction; and the orators among us have attempted to confound both prerogative and law in their sovereign's presence, and before the highest court of judicature, without any hazard to their persons.

No. XXXII.

THURSDAY, MARCH 15, 1710-11.

Non est ea medicina, cum sanæ parti corporis scalpellum adhibetur, atque integræ, carnicina est ista, et crudelitas. Hi medentur reipublicæ, qui exsecant pestem aliquam, tanquam strumam civitatis.

To apply the knife to a sound and healthy part of the body, is butchery and cruelty; not real surgery. Those are the true physicians and surgeons of a state, who cut off the pests of society, like wens from the human body.

I AM diverted from the general subject of my discourses, to reflect upon an event of a very extraordinary and surprising nature. A great minister, in high confidence with the queen, under

whose management the weight of affairs at present is in a great measure supposed to lie ; sitting in council, in a royal palace, with a dozen of the chief officers of the state, is stabbed at the very board in the execution of his office, by the hand of a French papist, * then under examination for high treason ; the assassin redoubles his blow to make sure work ; and concluding the chancellor † was dispatched, goes on with the same rage to murder a principal secretary of state, ‡ and that whole noble assembly are forced to rise and draw their swords in their own defence, as if a wild beast had been let loose among them

This fact has some circumstances of aggravation not to be paralleled by any of the like kind we meet with in history. Cæsar's murder being performed in the senate, comes nearest to the case ; but that was an affair concerted by great numbers of the chief senators, who were likewise the actors in it ; and not the work of a vile single ruffian. Harry the Third of France was stabbed by an enthusiastic friar, whom he suffered to approach his person, while those who attended him stood at some distance. His successor met

* For an account of this attempted assassination, see the Journal, and "A true Narrative of what passed at the Examination of the Marquis de Guiscard," &c. It is enough here to remind the reader, that he was a refugee Frenchman, who had been received into the British service, but having wasted his resources, resolved to make peace with his own country, by betraying the secrets of England. His letters being intercepted, he was brought before the council for examination, when, in a fit of frenzy and despair, he stabbed Mr Harley.

† Mr Harley, then chancellor of the exchequer, afterward Earl of Oxford.

‡ Mr Henry St John, afterward Lord Bolingbroke.

the same fate in a coach, where neither he nor his nobles, in such a confinement, were able to defend themselves. In our own country we have, I think, but one instance of this sort, which has made any noise, I mean that of Felton about fourscore years ago, but he took the opportunity to stab the duke of Buckingham, in passing through a dark lobby from one room to another. The blow was neither seen nor heard, and the murderer might have escaped, if his own concern and horror, as it is usual in such cases, had not betrayed him. Besides, that act of Felton will admit of some extenuation, from the motives he is said to have had, but this attempt of Guiscard seems to have outdone them all in every heightening circumstance, except the difference of persons between a king and a great minister: for I give no allowance at all to the difference of success, (which, however, is yet uncertain and depending,) nor think it the least alleviation to the crime, whatever it may be to the punishment.

I am sensible it is ill arguing from particulars to generals, and that we ought not to charge upon a nation the crimes of a few desperate villains it is so unfortunate to produce, yet at the same time it must be avowed, that the French have, for these last centuries, been somewhat too liberal of their daggers upon the persons of their greatest men; such as the Admiral de Coligny, the Dukes of Guise father and son, and the two kings I last mentioned. I have sometimes wondered how a people, whose genius seems wholly turned to singing and dancing, and prating, to vanity and impertinence, who lay so much weight upon modes and gestures; whose essentialities are generally so very superficial; who are usually so serious upon trifles, and so trifling upon

what is serious, have been capable of committing such solid villainies, more suitable to the gravity of a Spaniard, or the silence and thoughtfulness of an Italian: unless it be, that in a nation naturally so full of themselves, and of so restless imaginations, when any of them happen to be of a morose and gloomy constitution, that huddle of confused thoughts, for want of evaporating, usually terminates in rage or despair. D'Avila observes, that Jacques Clement* was a sort of buffoon, whom the rest of the friars used to make sport with; but at last giving his folly a serious turn, it ended in enthusiasm, and qualified him for that desperate act of murdering his king

But, in the Marquis de Guiscard, there seems to have been a complication of ingredients for such an attempt. He had committed several enormities in France, was extremely prodigal and vicious, of a dark melancholy complexion and cloudy countenance, such as in vulgar physiognomy is called an ill look. For the rest, his talents were very mean, having a sort of inferior cunning, but very small abilities; so that a great man of the late ministry, by whom he was invited over, and with much discretion raised at first step, from a profligate popish priest, to a lieutenant-general, and colonel of a regiment of horse, was at last forced to drop him for shame.

Had such an accident happened under that ministry, and to so considerable a member of it, they would have immediately charged it upon the whole body of those they are pleased to call the faction. This would have been styled a high

* The monk who assassinated Henry III. of France.

church principle, the clergy would have been accused as promoters and abettors of the fact; committees would have been sent, to promise the criminal his life, provided they might have liberty to direct and dictate his confession; and a black list would have been printed of all those who had been ever seen in the murderer's company. But the present men in power hate and despise all such detestable arts, which they might now turn upon their adversaries with much more plausibility, than ever these did their honourable negotiations with Greg *

And here it may be worth observing, how unanimous a concurrence there is between some persons once in great power, and a French papist; both agreeing in the great end of taking away Mr Harley's life, though differing in their me-

* "In the beginning of the year 1708, William Greg, an under clerk to Mr Secretary Harley, was detected in a correspondence with Monsieur Chamillard, one of the French king's ministers, to whom he transmitted the proceedings of both houses of parliament with respect to the augmentation of the British forces, and other papers of great importance. Greg, when he was indicted of this treason, pleaded guilty, which gave occasion to Mr Harley's enemies to insinuate, that he was privy to Greg's practices, and had, by assurances of pardon, prevailed upon him to plead guilty, in order to prevent the examination of witnesses the House of Lords appointed a committee of seven, of whom Lord Sunderland was manager, to inquire into the affair; the committee presented an address to the queen, in which complaint was made, that all Mr Harley's papers had been long exposed to the meanest clerks in his office, and it was requested, that more caution might be used for the future. Upon this address the execution of Greg was deferred a month, during which time he was solicited, threatened, and promised, but still persisting to take the whole guilt upon himself, he was at length executed, having, in a paper which he left behind him, justified Mr Harley in particular; which he would scarce have thought necessary, if no particular attempt had been made against him."—HAWKSEWORTH.

thods ; the first, proceeding by subornation, the other, by violence ; wherein Guiscard seems to have the advantage, as aiming no farther than his life ; while the others designed to destroy at once both that and his reputation. The malice of both against this gentleman seems to have risen from the same cause, his discovering designs against the government. It was Mr Harley who detected the treasonable correspondence of Greg, and secured him betimes, when a certain great man, who shall be nameless, had, out of the depth of his politics, sent him a caution to make his escape, which would certainly have fixed the appearance of guilt upon Mr Harley : but when that was prevented, they would have enticed the condemned criminal with promise of a pardon, to write and sign an accusation against the secretary : but, to use Greg's own expression, his death was nothing near so ignominious, as would have been such a life, that must be saved, by prostituting his conscience.* The same gentleman now lies stabbed by his other enemy, a popish spy, whose treason he has discovered.

* In Greg's dying speech, he begs pardon of the wrong he had done to the Right Honourable Robert Harley, in betraying his trust, and adds, " Though this declaration be of itself sufficient to clear the said gentleman, yet, for the sake of those whom it was my misfortune not to be able to satisfy in my lifetime, I do sincerely protest, that, as I shall answer it before the judgment seat of Christ, the gentleman aforesaid was not privy to my writing to France, directly nor indirectly." Yet, notwithstanding the solemnity of this dying declaration, so deaf was the ear of party, that the Whigs persisted to maintain that it was drawn up by Harley himself, who, it was affirmed, induced Greg to subscribe it, by promising him a reprieve at the foot of the gallows, as if any criminal would have trusted his life to the precarious intercession of an accomplice, when he could have made it safe by discovery.

God preserve the rest of her majesty's ministers from such protestants, and from such papists!

I shall take occasion to hint at some particularities in this surprising fact, for the sake of those at a distance, or who may not be thoroughly informed. The murderer confessed in Newgate, that his chief design was against Mr Secretary St John, who happened to change seats with Mr Harley for more convenience of examining the criminal. and being asked what provoked him to stab the chancellor^p he said, That, not being able to come at the secretary as he intended, it was some satisfaction to murder the person whom he thought Mr St John loved best.*

And here, if Mr Harley has still any enemies left, whom his blood spilt in the public service cannot reconcile, I hope they will at least admire his magnanimity, which is a quality esteemed even in an enemy; and I think there are few greater instances of it to be found in story. After the wound was given, he was observed neither to change his countenance, nor discover any

* Swift, in his *Memorrs on the Change of Ministry*, observes, that Bolingbroke's affecting to be considered as the principal but of Guiscard's revenge, was the first cause of difference between him and Harley; and adds. that it was thus stated in the *Examiner* which Mr St John perused, but made no alteration in that passage. Yet Swift argues, that St John might be mistaken, and in defending this passage in the next number, he says, that he only meant to report Guiscard's own words, without drawing any conclusions from thence, believing fully, in terms of the address of both houses, that Mr Harley's zeal and fidelity had drawn on himself the hatred of the abettors of popery and faction. And so difficult did he find it to treat of this nice point, without offending one of his two patrons, that he left to Mrs Manley the drawing up of the full narrative, upon which he would otherwise doubtless have bestowed his best labour.—See *Journal for 11th March and 16th April, 1710-11.*

concern or disorder in his speech. He rose up, and walked about the room while he was able, with the greatest tranquillity, during the height of the confusion. When the surgeon came, he took him aside, and desired he would inform him freely whether the wound were mortal, because in that case, he said, he had some affairs to settle relating to his family. The blade of the pen-knife, broken by the violence of the blow against the rib, within a quarter of an inch of the handle, was dropt out (I know not whether from the wound, or his clothes) as the surgeon was going to dress him he ordered it to be taken up, and, wiping it himself, gave it some body to keep, saying, he thought it now properly belonged to him. He showed no sort of resentment, nor spoke one violent word against Guiscard, but appeared all the while the least concerned of any in the company; a state of mind, which, in such an exigency, nothing but innocence can give, and is truly worthy of a Christian philosopher.

If there be really so great a difference in principle, between the high-flying Whigs and the friends of France, I cannot but repeat the question, how came they to join in the destruction of the same man? Can his death be possibly for the interest of both? Or have they both the same quarrel against him, that he is perpetually discovering and preventing the treacherous designs of our enemies? however it be, this great minister may now say with St Paul, that he has been in perils by his own countrymen, and in perils by strangers.

In the midst of so melancholy a subject, I cannot but congratulate with our own country, that such a savage monster as the Marquis de Guiscard is none of her production: a wretch, perhaps

more detestable in his own nature, than even this barbarous act has been yet able to represent him to the world. For there are good reasons to believe from several circumstances, that he had intentions of a deeper dye than those he happened to execute. I mean such as every good subject must tremble to think on. He has of late been frequently seen going up the back stairs at court, and walking alone in an outer room adjoining to her majesty's bed chamber. He has often and earnestly pressed, for some time, to have access to the queen, even since his correspondence with France *. And he has now given such a proof of his disposition, as leaves it easy to guess what was before in his thoughts, and what he was capable of attempting.

It is humbly to be hoped, that the legislature will interpose on so extraordinary an occasion as this, and direct a punishment some way proportionable to so execrable a crime.†

*Et quicumque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,
Morte luat merita——*

* "For he had tried, by all the ways he could conceive, to be admitted to speak with her in private, which he had attempted that very morning."—*Burnet*, Vol. II. p. 566.

† Upon a recommendation from the crown, an act was passed, to make an attempt on the life of a privy counsellor, in the execution of his office, felony without benefit of clergy. This statute could have no retrospect. nevertheless, Swift says in his *Journal*, he is sorry for Guiscard's death, as they had found a way to hang him. I suppose they meant to value the pen-knife at forty shillings and upwards, and hang the marquis for privately stealing it.

No. XXXIII.

THURSDAY, MARCH 22, 1710-11

De libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil est dulcius, tibi assentior.

I agree with you in respect to your sentiments for preserving our liberty, than which nothing can be more pleasing to a human mind.

THE apologies of the ancient fathers are reckoned to have been the most useful parts of their writings, and to have done greatest service to the Christian religion; because they removed those misrepresentations which had done it most injury. The methods these writers took, were, openly and freely to discover every point of their faith, to detect the falsehood of their accusers, and to charge nothing upon their adversaries, but what they were sure to make good. This example has been ill followed of later times: the papists, since the Reformation, using all arts to palliate the absurdities of their tenets, and loading the reformers with a thousand calumnies; the consequence of which has been only a more various, wide, and inveterate separation. It is the same thing in civil schisms: a Whig forms an image of a Tory, just after the thing he most abhors, and that image serves to represent the whole body.

I am not sensible of any material difference there is between those who call themselves the old Whigs, and a great majority of the present Tories; at least by all I could ever find from examining several persons of each denomination. But it must be confessed, that the present body

of Whigs, as they now constitute that party, is a very odd mixture of mankind, being forced to enlarge their bottom by taking in every heterodox professor, either in religion or government, whose opinions they were obliged to encourage for fear of lessening their number; while the bulk of the landed men, and people, were entirely of the old sentiments. However, they still pretended a due regard to the monarchy and the church, even at the time when they were making the largest steps toward the ruin of both—but, not being able to wipe off the many accusations laid to their charge, they endeavoured, by throwing scandal, to make the Tories appear blacker than themselves: and so the people might join with them, as the smaller evil of the two.

But among all the reproaches which the Whigs have flung upon their adversaries, there is none has done them more service than that of passive obedience, as they represent it with the consequences of nonresistance, arbitrary power, indefensible right, tyranny, popery, and what not. There is no accusation which has passed with more plausibility than this, or any that is supported with less justice. In order therefore to undeceive those who have been misled by false representations, I thought it would be a very improper undertaking to set this matter in a fair light, which I think has not yet been done. A Whig asks, Whether you hold passive obedience? you affirm it. he then immediately cries out, You are a Jacobite, a friend of France and the pretender! because he makes you answerable for the definition he has formed of that term, however different it be from what you understand. I will therefore give two descriptions of passive obedience; the first, as

it is falsely charged by the Whigs; the other, as it is really professed by the Tories, at least by nineteen in twenty of all I ever conversed with.

Passive Obedience, as charged by the Whigs.

THE doctrine of passive obedience is, to believe that a king, even in a limited monarchy, holding his power only from God, is only answerable to him. that such a king is above all law; that the cruellest tyrant must be submitted to in all things; and if his commands be ever so unlawful, you must neither fly nor resist, nor use any other weapons than prayers and tears. Although he should force your wife and daughter, murder your children before your face, or cut off five hundred heads in a morning for his diversion; you are still to wish him a long, prosperous reign, and to be patient under all his cruelties, with the same resignation as under a plague or a famine; because to resist him, would be to resist God, in the person of his viceroy. If a king of England should go through the streets of London in order to murder every man he met, passive obedience commands them to submit. All laws made to limit him signify nothing, although passed by his own consent, if he thinks fit to break them. God will indeed call him to a severe account; but the whole people, united to a man, cannot presume to hold his hands, or offer him the least active disobedience: the people were certainly created for him, and not he for the people. His next heir, although worse than what I have described, although a fool or a madman, has a divine indefeasible right to succeed him, which no law can disannul; nay, although he should kill his father upon the throne, he is immediately

king to all intents and purposes; the possession of the crown wiping off all stains. But whosoever sits on the throne without this title, though even so peaceably, and by consent of former kings and parliaments, is a usurper, while there is any where in the world another person, who has a nearer hereditary right; and the whole kingdom lies under mortal sin, till that heir be restored, because he has a divine title, which no human law can defeat.

This and a great deal more has, in a thousand papers and pamphlets, been laid to that doctrine of passive obedience, which the Whigs are pleased to charge upon us. This is what they are perpetually instilling into the people, as the undoubted principle by which the present ministry, and a great majority in parliament, do at this time proceed. This is what they accuse the clergy of delivering from the pulpits, and of preaching up as a doctrine absolutely necessary to salvation. And whoever affirms in general, that passive obedience is due to the supreme power, he is presently loaded by our candid adversaries, with such consequences as these. Let us therefore see what this doctrine is, when stripped of such misrepresentations, by describing it as really taught and practised by the Tories, and then it will appear what grounds our adversaries have to accuse us upon this article.

Passive Obedience, as professed and practised by the Tories.

THEY think that in every government, whether monarchy or republic, there is placed a supreme, absolute, unlimited power, to which pas-

sive obedience is due. That wherever is entrusted the power of making laws, that power is without all bounds; can repeal, or enact at pleasure whatever laws it thinks fit; and justly demand universal obedience and non-resistance. That among us, as every body knows, this power is lodged in the king or queen, together with the lords and commons of the kingdom; and therefore all decrees whatsoever, made by that power, are to be actively or passively obeyed. That the administration, or executive part of this power, is, in England, solely entrusted with the prince, who, in administering those laws, ought to be no more resisted, than the legislative power itself. But they do not conceive the same absolute passive obedience to be due to a limited prince's commands, when they are directly contrary to the laws he has consented to, and sworn to maintain. The crown may be sued as well as a private person; and if an arbitrary king of England should send his officers to seize my lands or goods against law, I can lawfully resist them. The ministers, by whom he acts, are liable to prosecution and impeachment, although his own person be sacred. But, if he interpose royal authority to support their insolence, I see no remedy, until it grows a general grievance, or until the body of the people have reason to apprehend it will be so; after which, it becomes a case of necessity; and then, I suppose, a free people may assert their own rights, yet without any violation to the person or lawful power of the prince. But, although the Tories allow all this, and did justify it by the share they had in the Revolution; yet they see no reason for entering upon so ungrateful a subject, or raising controversies upon it, as if we were in daily apprehensions of tyrannical

ny, under the reign of so excellent a princess and while we have so many laws of late year. made to limit the prerogative; when, according to the judgment of those who know our constitution best, things rather seem to lean to the other extreme, which is equally to be avoided. As to the succession, the Tories think an hereditary right to be the best in its own nature, and most agreeable to our old constitution; yet, at the same time, they allow it to be defeasible by act of parliament, and so is Magna Charta too, if the legislature think fit: which is a truth so manifest, that no man, who understands the nature of government, can be in doubt concerning it.

* These contrasted statements of the Tories' doctrine of passive obedience, seem to have been drawn up in imitation of the celebrated apology for the catholic religion in the reign of James I. entitled, "Papists Represented and Misrepresented." And may be justly objected to the Apologists in both cases, that in endeavouring to lower their peculiar doctrines to the tone of common sense, they are obliged to vary materially from the authorities on which they are founded. For example, the following statement of the doctrine of non-resistance by two of the apostles of Toryism, will, I fear, be found fully to warrant the character of the Whigs:

"For a man to take up arms (offensive or defensive) against a lawful sovereign, being a thing in its nature unlawful, cannot be done by any man, at any time, in any case, upon any colour or pretence whatsoever, not for the maintenance of the liberties either of ourselves or others, nor for the defence of religion, nor for the preservation of a church or state, nor yet, if that could be imagined possible, for the salvation of a soul nor for the redemption of the whole world."—*Bishop Sandon's Works*, p. 522.

"Subjects must obey passively, where they can't obey actively; otherwise government would be precarious. Nor is this only a state-doctrine, but the doctrine also of Jesus Christ, and that a necessary and indispensable one too, as sufficiently appears from these famous words of St Paul, Rom. xiii. 1, 2. which are so plain, that they need no comment; so, that so long as a text

These I take to be the sentiments of a great majority among the Tories with respect to passive obedience · and if the Whigs insist, from the writings or common talk of warm and ignorant men, to form a judgment of the whole body, according to the first account I have here given ; I will engage to produce as many of their side, who are utterly against passive obedience even to the legislature ; who will assert the last resort of power to be in the people, against those whom they have chosen and trusted as their representatives, with the prince at the head ; and who will put vivid improbable cases, to show the reasonableness and necessity of resisting the legislative power in such imaginary junctures · than which however nothing can be more idle ; for I dare undertake in any system of government, either speculative or practical, that was ever yet in the world, from Plato's Republic, to Harrington's Oceana, without such difficulties as cannot be answered.

All the other calumnies raised by the Whigs may be as easily wiped off ; and I have the charity to wish they could as fully answer the just accusations we have against them. Dodwell, Hies, and Lesley, are gravely quoted to prove, that the Tories design to bring in the pretender ; and if I should quote them to prove that the same thing is intended by the Whigs, it would be full as reasonable ; since I am sure they have at least as much to do with nonjurors as we. But our objections against the Whigs are built upon their constant practice for many years, whereof I have

stands our Bibles, the doctrine of non-resistance or passive obedience must be of obligation to all christians."—*Dr Sharpe, Archbishop York's Sermon before the House of Lords in 1700.*

produced a hundred instances, against any single one of which no answer has yet been attempted, although I have been curious enough to look into all the papers I could meet with, that are written against the Examiner, such a task as, I hope, no man thinks I would undergo, for any other end but that of finding an opportunity to own and rectify my mistakes: as I would be ready to do upon the call of the meanest adversary. Upon which occasion I shall take leave to add a few words

I flattered myself last Thursday, from the nature of my subject, and the inoffensive manner I handled it,* that I should have one week's respite from those merciless pens, whose severity will some time break my heart: but I am deceived, and find them more violent than ever. They charge me with two lies, and a blunder.† The first lie is a truth, that Guiscard was invited

* "And the inoffensive manner I handled it,"—is a mode of speech ungrammatical; it ought to be—"in which I handled it."

† The author is alluding to some statements in the *Medley*, No. 25. which, to say truth, are not very german to the matter. For, whether Guiscard was expressly invited to England by the ministry or no, was very little to the purpose, since he received encouragement when he came. Neither could the Examiner be called incorrect in stating that he was made a lieutenant-general and colonel of horse, since the answerer admitted, that he had a commission to act as lieutenant general in case of a landing in France, and that he was actually colonel of a regiment of foreign cavalry, which, although in the service of the emperor, was in the pay of England. The author of the *Medley* would have acted more wisely, if, instead of these idle cavils, he had vindicated the former ministry on the broad and tenable ground, that though they encouraged Guiscard while they thought he might be of any use to the cause of the confederates, their doing so by no means implicated them in his last treasonable and desperate designs.

over: but it is of no consequence. I do not tax it as a fault; such sort of men have often been serviceable. I only blamed the indiscretion of raising a profligate abbot, at the first step, to a lieutenant general, and colonel of a regiment of horse, without staying some reasonable time, as is usual in such cases, until he had given some proofs of his fidelity, as well as of that interest and credit he pretended to have in his country. But that is said to be another lie; for he was a papist, and could not have a regiment. however this other lie is a truth too; for a regiment he had, and paid by us, to his agent Monsieur le Bas for his use. The third is a blunder; that I say Guiscard's design was against Mr Secretary St John, and yet my reasonings upon it are as if it were personally against Mr Harley. But I say no such thing, and my reasonings are just. I relate only what Guiscard said in Newgate, because it was a particularity the reader might be curious to know, and accordingly it lies in a paragraph by itself, after my reflections; but I never meant to be answerable for what Guiscard said, or thought it of weight enough for me to draw conclusions thence, when I had the address of both Houses to direct me better; where it is expressly said, that Mr Harley's fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her service, have drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. This is what I believe, and what I shall stick to.

But, alas! these are not the passages which have raised so much fury against me. One or two mistakes in facts of no importance, or a single blunder, would not have provoked them; they are not so tender of my reputation as a writer. All their outrage is occasioned by those passages

in that paper, which they do not in the least pretend to answer, and with the utmost reluctance are forced to mention. They take abundance of pains to clear Guiscard from a design against Mr Hailey's life :^{*} but offer not one argument to clear

* Harley, as a minister, reaped great advantage from Guiscard's attack on his person. Pity for the sufferer, and horror for the attempt, not only added to his general popularity, but even his professed opponents became ashamed of urging a predilection for France, against a statesman whose life was endangered by a wound from a French agent. What they did not venture to state in their graver publications, they took, however, other means to insinuate. It was suggested, that Guiscard's rage was awakened by finding that his life was to be sacrificed to the safety of an accomplice. and the Archbishop of Dublin, in particular, was charged with quoting the case of Fenius Rufus, and Scevinus, in the 15th book of Tacitus, *accensis indicibus ad prodendum Femum Rufum, quem eundem consuevit et inquisitorem non tolerabunt*. As another instance of the power of faction in perverting and ridiculing whatever makes against her cause, and as a justification of the charge brought by Swift against the Whigs, which we may in vain look for in their more formal publications, the following ballad is worth preserving.

On Guiscard's stabbing Robin.

Attend, good people, give an ear,
Listen a while, and you shall hear
What strange account Guiscard's affair

Will make in future story—
How he was taken up and try'd,
And how he all the facts deny'd;
How he was wounded, how he dy'd
To Britain's endless glory.

If fame be not mistaken, he
Taking a turn, one, two, or three,
By order of the ministry,
Was seized in the Park, sir;
And thence convey'd to a room of state,
Where privy counsellors debate
The grand affairs of church and state,
As some make their remark, sir.

Young Cato first a letter shows
Of correspondence with our foes,
Which by experience he well knows
Will no small profit bring, sir
In this the proverb true we see,
Two of a trade can ne'er agree,

their other friends, who, in the business of Greg, were equally guilty of the same design against the same person; whose tongues were very swords, and whose penknives were axes.

For Guiscard was no more than he
A spy to the French king, Sir

The abbot saw himself betray'd
By those who all the scheme had laid,
Whose tool he all along was made,
To serve young Perkin's ends, sir;
And therefore boldly out he drew
A knife, whose metal prov'd untrue,
And at good Robin's breast he flew,
Resolv'd to fall with friends, Sir.

As soon as the noble Ha——y found
The knife in his breast had made a wound,
The council did to battle sound
Like claps of summer's thunder:
Chairs and standish, ink and pen,
To fly about the room were seen,
But valiant St J——n he stept in,
And made the count knock under.

In the article of danger he
Was so composed, that all agree,
For presence of mind and bravery,
He could be out-done by no man.
And by the greatness of his soul,
Which did the passion of fear controul,
And kept his spirit sound and whole,
He sure must be a Roman

A noble and a valiant peer,
Prompted by reason more than fear,
Thought fit some time to disappear
Under the council board, Sir:
And reason for his elopement gave,
That sure no person that was brave,
A hand in such a fray would have,
Or draw his rusty sword, sir.

Another duke, to see fair play,
Which he had never done, some say,
Thought it the most convenient way,
To mount upon the table
And when their safeties he had seen,
Put up your swords, cry'd, gentlemen,
For what can one man do to ten?
To hurt you he's not able.

And now, my friends, I should do wrong,
Could I forget in this my song
To tell t'which side he did belong,
Before I end my story
Some say he was a Whig, but I,
By's being bred in popery,
And being call'd Monsieur L'Abbe,
Declare him a rank Tory.

No XXXIV:

THURSDAY, MARCH 29, 1710-11.

—*Sunt hæc etiam sua præmia laudi ;
Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.*

————— See
The palm that virtue yields ' in scenes like these
We trace humanity, and man with man
Related by the kindred sense of woe.

I BEGIN to be heartily weary of my employment as Examiner ; which I wish the ministry would consider with half so much concern as I do, and assign me some other, with less pains, and a larger pension. There may soon be a vacancy either on the bench, in the revenue, or the army, and I am equally qualified for each ; but this trade of examining, I apprehend, may at one time or other go near to sour my temper. I did lately propose, that some of those ingenious pens, which are engaged on the other side, might be employed to succeed me ; and I undertook to bring them over for t'other crown ; but it was answered, that those gentlemen do much better service in the stations where they are. It was added, that abundance of abuses yet remained to be laid open to the world, which I had often promised to do, but was too much diverted by other subjects that came into my head. On the other side, the advices of some friends, and the threats of many enemies, have put me upon considering, what would have become of me, if times should alter ; this I have done very maturely, and the result is, that I am in no manner of pain. I grant

that what I have said upon occasion, concerning the late men in power, may be called satire by some unthinking people, as long as that faction is down; but if ever they come into play again, I must give them warning before hand, that I shall expect to be a favourite, and that those pretended advocates of theirs will be pilloried for libellers. For, I appeal to any man, whether I ever charged that party, or its leaders, with one single action or design, which, (if we may judge by their former practices,) they will not openly profess, be proud of, and score up for merit when they come again to the head of affairs? I said, they were insolent to the queen; will they not value themselves upon that, as an argument to prove them bold assertors of the people's liberty? I affirmed, they were against a peace; will they be angry with me for setting forth the refinements of their politics, in pursuing the only method left to preserve them in power? I said, they had involved the nation in debts, and engrossed much of its money; they go beyond me, and boast they have got it all, and the credit too. I have urged the probability of their intending great alterations in religion and government; if they destroy both at their next coming, will they not reckon my foretelling it rather as a panegyric than an affront? I said, they had formerly a design against Mr Harley's life, if they were now in power, would they not immediately cut off his head, and thank me for justifying the sincerity of their intentions? In short, there is nothing I ever said of those worthy patriots, which may not be as well excused; therefore, as soon as they resume their places, I positively design to put in my claim; and, I think, may do it with a much better grace than

many of that party, who now make their court to the present ministry I know two or three great men, at whose levees you may daily observe a score of the most forward faces, which every body is ashamed of, except those who wear them. But, I conceive, my pretensions will be upon a very different foot. Let me offer a parallel case; suppose king Charles the First had entirely subdued the rebels at Naseby, and reduced the kingdom to his obedience; whoever had gone about to reason from the former conduct of those saints, that if the victory had fallen on their side, they would have murdered their prince, destroyed monarchy and the church, and made the king's party compound for their estates as delinquents, would have been called a false uncharitable libeller, by those very persons, who afterward gloried in all this, and called it the work of the Lord, when they happened to succeed. I remember there was a person fined and imprisoned for *scandalum magnatum*, because he said the Duke of York was a papist, but when that prince came to be king, and made open profession of his religion, he had the justice immediately to release his prisoner, who, in his opinion, had put a compliment upon him, and not a reproach; and therefore Colonel Titus,* who had warmly asserted the same thing in parliament, was made a privy counsellor

By this rule, if that, which for some politic rea-

* Silas Titus, author of the celebrated tract against Oliver Cromwell, entitled, "Killing no Murder," and a zealous supporter of the bill for excluding the Duke of York from the crown, was, nevertheless, sworn privy counsellor to James II., on the 6th July 1688.

sons is now called scandal upon the late ministry, proves one day to be only an abstract of such a character as they will assume and be proud of, I think I may fairly offer my pretensions, and hope for their favour, and I am the more confirmed in this notion, by what I have observed in those papers that come out weekly against the Examiner. The authors are perpetually telling me of my ingratitude to my masters, that I blunder and betray the cause; and write with more bitterness against those who hire me, than against the Whigs. Now I took all this at first only for so many strains of wit, and pretty paradoxes, to divert the reader, but, upon farther thinking, I find they are serious. I imagined I had complimented the present ministry for their dutiful behaviour to the queen, for their love of the old constitution in church and state, for their generosity and justice, and for their desire of a speedy honourable peace, but it seems I am mistaken, and they reckon all this for satire, because it is directly contrary to the practice of all those whom they set up to defend, and utterly against all their notions of a good ministry. Therefore I cannot but think they have reason on their side, for, suppose I should write the character of an honest, a religious, and a learned man, and send the first to Newgate, the second to the Grecian coffee-house, and the last to White's, would they not all pass for satires, and justly enough, among the companies to whom they were sent?

Having therefore employed several papers in such sort of panegyric, and but very few on what they understand to be satires, I shall henceforth upon occasion be more liberal of the latter; of which they are likely to have a taste in the remainder of this present paper.

Among all the advantages which the kingdom has received by the late change of ministry, the greatest must be allowed to be, the calling of the present parliament upon the dissolution of the last. It is acknowledged, that this excellent assembly has entirely recovered the honour of parliaments, which had been unhappily prostituted for some years past, by the factious proceedings of an unnatural majority, in concert with a most corrupt administration. It is plain by the present choice of members, that the electors of England, when left to themselves, do rightly understand their true interest. The moderate Whigs begin to be convinced, that we have been all this while in the wrong hands, and that things are now as they should be. And as the present House of Commons is the best representative of the nation that has ever been summoned in our memories, so they have taken care in their first session, by that noble bill of qualification, * that future parliaments should be composed of landed men, and our properties be no more at the mercy of those who have none themselves, or at least only what is transient or imaginary. † If there be any gratitude in posterity, the memory of this assembly will be always celebrated, if otherwise, at least we, who share in the blessings they derive to us, ought with grateful hearts to acknowledge them.

I design in some following papers to draw up

* The qualification required by this act is some estate in land, either in possession or certain reversion, a provision avowedly intended for the security of the landed against the monied interest.

† Alluding to the funds

a list, (for I can do no more,) of the great things this parliament has already performed ; the many abuses they have detected ; their justice in deciding elections without regard to party ; their cheerfulness and address in raising supplies for the war, and at the same time providing for the nation's debts ; their duty to the queen, and their kindness to the church. In the mean time, I cannot forbear mentioning two particulars, which, in my opinion, do discover in some measure the temper of the present parliament, and bear analogy to those passages related by Plutarch in the lives of certain great men ; which, as himself observes, although they be not of actions which make any great noise or figure in history, yet give more light into the characters of persons, than we could receive from an account of their most renowned achievements.

Something like this may be observed, from two late instances of decency and good nature in that illustrious assembly I am speaking of. The first was, when, after that inhuman attempt upon Mr Hailey, they were pleased to vote an address to the queen, wherein they express their utmost detestation of the fact, their high esteem and great concern for that able minister, and justly impute his misfortunes to that zeal for her majesty's service, which had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. I dare affirm, that so distinguishing a mark of honour and good will, from such a parliament, was more acceptable to a person of Mr Harley's generous nature, than the most bountiful grant that was ever yet made to a subject ; as her majesty's answer, filled with gracious expressions in his favour, adds more to his real glory, than any titles she could bestow. The prince and representa-

tives of the whole kingdom, join in their concern for so important a life, these are the true rewards of virtue, and this is the commerce between noble spirits, in a coin, which the giver knows where to bestow, and the receiver how to value, although neither avarice nor ambition would be able to comprehend its worth.

The other instance I intend to produce, of decency and good nature in the present House of Commons, relates to their most worthy speaker;* who having † unfortunately lost his eldest son, the assembly, moved with a generous pity for so sensible an affliction, adjourned themselves for a week, that so good a servant for the public might have some interval to wipe away a father's tears. And indeed that gentleman has too just an occasion for his grief, by the death of a son, who had already acquired so great a reputation for every amiable quality, and who might have lived to be so great an honour and an ornament to his ancient family.

Before I conclude, I must desire one favour of the reader, that when he thinks it worth his while to peruse any paper written against the Examiner, he will not form his judgment by any mangled quotation out of it, which he finds in such papers, but be so just as to read the paragraph referred to, which I am confident will be found a sufficient answer to all that ever those

* William Bromley, Esq. elected speaker, Nov. 23, 1710, and sworn of the privy council, June 23, 1711. He died February 6, 1732.

† Mr Bromley's son died of the smallpox, and the House adjourned for a week, that he might wipe off his tears. "I think," says Swift to Stella, "it is very handsomely done. But I believe one reason is, that they want Mr Hailey so much."

papers can object; at least I have seen above fifty of them, and never yet observed one single quotation transcribed with common candour.

No. XXXV

THURSDAY, APRIL 5, 1710-11.

Nullo suo peccato impediuntur, quo minus alterius peccata demonstrare possint.

No fault or crime in themselves, hinders them from searching into, and pointing out the faults of others.

I HAVE been considering the old constitution of this kingdom; comparing it with the monarchies and republics whereof we meet so many accounts in ancient story, and with those at present in most parts of Europe. I have considered our religion, established here by the legislature soon after the Reformation. I have likewise examined the genius and disposition of the people under that reasonable freedom they possess. Then I have turned my reflections upon those two great divisions of Whig and Tory, (which some way or other take in the whole kingdom,) with the principles they both profess, as well as those wherewith they reproach one another. From all this, I endeavour to determine, from which side her present majesty may reasonably hope for most security to her person and government; and to which she ought in prudence to trust the administration of her affairs. If these two rivals were

really no more than parties, according to the common acceptation of the word, I should agree with those politicians, who think a prince descends from his dignity, by putting himself at the head of either ; and that his wisest course is to keep them in a balance, raising or depressing either, as it best suits with his designs. But when the visible interest of his crown and kingdom lies on one side, and when the other is but a faction, raised and strengthened by incidents and intrigues, and by deceiving the people with false representations of things, he ought in prudence to take the first opportunity of opening his subjects' eyes, and declaring himself in favour of those who are for preserving the civil and religious rights of the nation, wherewith his own are so interwoven.

This was certainly our case. for I do not take the heads, advocates, and followers of the Whigs, to make up, strictly speaking, a national party ; being patched up of heterogeneous, inconsistent parts, whom nothing served to unite, but the common interest of sharing in the spoil and plunder of the people, the present dread of their adversaries, by whom they apprehended to be called to an account, and that general conspiracy of endeavouring to overturn the church and state, which, however, if they could have compassed, they would certainly have fallen out among themselves, and broke in pieces, as their predecessors did after they destroyed the monarchy and religion. For, how could a Whig, who is against all discipline, agree with a presbyterian, who carries it higher than the papists themselves ? How could a socinian adjust his models to either ? or how could any of these cement with a deist, or freethinker, when they came to consult upon

points of faith ? Neither would they have agreed better in their systems of government ; where some would have been for a king under the limitations of a Duke of Venice ; others for a Dutch republic ; a third party for an aristocracy ; and most of all for some new fabric of their own contriving.

But, however, let us consider them as a party, and under those general tenets wherein they agreed, and which they publicly owned, without charging them with any that they pretend to deny. Then, let us examine those principles of the Tories, which their adversaries allow them to profess, and do not pretend to tax them with any actions contrary to those professions : after which, let the reader judge which of these two parties a prince has most to fear ; and whether her majesty did not consider the ease, the safety, and dignity of her person, the security of her crown, and the transmission of monarchy to her protestant successors, when she put her affairs into the present hands

Suppose the matter were now entire ; the queen to make her choice, and for that end should order the principles on both sides to be fairly laid before her. First, I conceive the Whigs would grant, that they have naturally no very great veneration for crowned heads ; that they allow the person of the prince may, upon many occasions, be resisted by arms ; and they do not condemn the war raised against King Charles the First, or own it to be a rebellion, although they would be thought to blame his murder. They do not think the prerogative to be yet sufficiently limited ; and have therefore taken care (as a particular mark of their veneration for the illustrious house of Hanover) to clip it still closer against the next reign ; which,

consequently, they would be glad to see done in the present; not to mention, that the majority of them, if it were put to the vote, would allow that they prefer a commonwealth before a monarchy. As to religion, their universal undisputed maxim is, that it ought to make no distinction at all among protestants; and in the word protestant, they include every body who is not a papist, and who will by an oath give security to the government. Union in discipline and doctrine, the offensive sin of schism, the notion of a church and a hierarchy, they laugh at, as foppery, cant, and priest-craft. They see no necessity at all that there should be a national faith; and what we usually call by that name, they only style the religion of the magistrate. Since the dissenters and we agree in the main, why should the difference of a few speculative points, or modes of dress, incapacitate them from serving their prince and country, in a juncture, when we ought to have all hands up against the common enemy? and why should they be forced to take the sacrament from our clergy's hands, and in our posture; or indeed why compelled to receive it at all, when they take an employment which has nothing to do with religion?

These are the notions which most of that party avow, and which they do not endeavour to disguise or set off with false colours, or complain of being misrepresented about. I have here placed them on purpose in the same light, which themselves do in the very apologies they make for what we accuse them of, and how inviting even these doctrines are for such a monarch to close with, as our law both statute and common understands a king of England to be, let others decide. But then, if to these we should add other opinions,

which most of their own writers justify, and which their universal practice has given a sanction to, they are no more than what a prince might reasonably expect, as the natural consequence of those avowed principles. For, when such persons are at the head of affairs, the low opinion they have of princes will certainly lead them to violate that respect they ought to bear, and at the same time their own want of duty to their sovereign is largely made up, by exacting greater submissions to themselves, from their fellow-subjects; it being indisputably true, that the same principle of pride and ambition makes a man treat his equals with insolence, in the same proportion as he affronts his superiors, as both prince and people have sufficiently felt from the late ministry.

Then, from their confessed notions of religion, as above related, I see no reason to wonder, why they countenanced not only all sorts of dissenters, but the several gradations of freethinkers among us, all which are openly enrolled in their party; nor why they were so averse from the present established form of worship, which, by prescribing obedience to princes from the topic of conscience, would be sure to thwart all their schemes of innovation.

One thing I might add, as another acknowledged maxim in that party, and in my opinion as dangerous to the constitution as any I have mentioned, I mean, that of preferring on all occasions the monied interest before the landed; which they were so far from denying, that they would gravely debate the reasonableness and justice of it; and at the rate they went on, might in a little time have found a majority of representatives, fitly qualified to lay those heavy burdens on the rest of the nation, which themselves would not touch with one of their fingers.

However, to deal impartially, there are some motives, which might compel a prince under the necessity of affairs to deliver himself over to that party. They were said to possess the great bulk of cash, and consequently of credit, in the nation; and the heads of them had the reputation of presiding over those societies,* who have the great direction of both; so that all applications for loans to the public service, upon any emergency, must be made through them, and it might prove highly dangerous to disoblige them, because in that case it was not to be doubted, that they would be obstinate and malicious, ready to obstruct all affairs, not only by shutting their own purses, but by endeavouring to sink credit, although with some present imaginary loss to themselves, only to show it was a creature of their own.

From this summary of Whig principles and dispositions, we find what a prince may reasonably fear and hope from that party. Let us now very briefly consider the doctrines of the Tories, which their adversaries will not dispute. As they prefer a well-regulated monarchy before all other forms of government, so they think it next to impossible to alter that institution here, without involving our whole island in blood and desolation. They believe that the prerogative of a sovereign ought at least to be held as sacred and inviolable as the rights of his people; if only for this reason, because, without a due share of power, he will

* The bank of England, and East India Company. The former was so decidedly in the Whig interest, that the great Doctor Sacheverel, on appearing to give his vote for choosing governors and directors for the bank, was very rudely treated. *Post Boy*, April 19, 1710-11. Nor were the ministry successful in an attempt made about that time, to put these great companies under Tory management.

not be able to protect them. They think, that by many known laws of this realm, both statute and common, neither the person, nor lawful authority of the prince, ought upon any pretence whatsoever to be resisted or disobeyed. Their sentiments in relation to the church are known enough, and will not be controverted, being just the reverse to what I have delivered as the doctrine and practice of the Whigs upon that article.

But here I must likewise deal impartially too; and add one principle as a characteristic of the Tories, which has much discouraged some princes from making use of them in affairs. Give the Whigs but power enough to insult their sovereign, engross his favours to themselves, and to oppress and plunder their fellow-subjects; they presently grow into good humour and good language toward the crown; profess they will stand by it with their lives and fortunes; and whatever rudenesses they may be guilty of in private, yet they assure the world that there never was so gracious a monarch. But to the shame of the Tories it must be confessed, that nothing of all this has been ever observed in them; in or out of favour, you see no alteration, farther than a little cheerfulness or cloud in their countenances; the highest employments can add nothing to their loyalty, but their behaviour to their prince, as well as their expressions of love and duty, are in all conditions exactly the same.

Having thus impartially stated the avowed principle of Whig and Tory, let the reader determine as he pleases, to which of these two a wise prince may, with most safety to himself and the public, trust his person and his affairs: and whether it were rashness or prudence in her majesty, to make those changes in the ministry, which

have been so highly extolled by some, and condemned by others.

No. XXXVI.

THURSDAY, APRIL 12, 1711.

*Tres species tam dissimiles, tria tala texta,
Una dies dedit exitio —*

Such different forms of various threads combin'd,
One day destroy'd in common ruin join'd.

I WRITE this paper for the sake of the dissenters, whom I take to be the most spreading branch of the Whig party, that professes Christianity ; and the only one that seems to be zealous for any particular system of it ; the bulk of those we call the low church, being generally indifferent and undetermined in that point ; and the other subdivisions having not yet taken either the Old or the New Testament into their scheme. By the dissenters therefore it will easily be understood, that I mean the presbyterians, as they include the sects of anabaptists, independents, and others, which have been melted down into them since the Restoration. This sect, in order to make itself national, having gone so far as to raise a rebellion, murder their king, destroy monarchy and the church, was afterward broken in pieces by its own divisions ; which made way for the king's return from his exile. However, the zealous among them did still entertain hopes of recovering the domi-

nion of grace : whereof I have read a remarkable passage in a book published about the year 1661, and written by one of their own side As one of the regicides was going to his execution, a friend asked him, whether he thought the cause would revive ? He answered, The cause is in the bosom of Christ ; and as sure as Christ rose from the dead, so sure will the cause revive also. * And therefore the nonconformists were strictly watched, and restrained by penal laws, during the reign of King Charles the Second ; the court and kingdom looking on them as a faction, ready to join in any design against the government in church or state. And surely this was reasonable enough, while so many continued alive who had voted, and fought, and preached against both, and gave no proof that they had changed their principles. The nonconformists were then exactly upon the same foot with our nonjurors now, whom we double-tax, forbid their conventicles, and keep under hatches, without thinking ourselves possessed with a persecuting spirit, because we know they want nothing but the power to ruin us.

* I cannot find this peculiar expression among the "Speeches and Prayers of the King's Judges," 1660, nor in those of Bailest, Okey, and Corbet, 1662, nor in the life and death of Sir Henry Vane, Knt., 1662. That which approaches most near to it, occurs among the "Passages and occasional Speeches of General Harrison."--- "As he was going to suffer, one in derision called to him and said, Where is your good old cause ? He, with a cheerful smile, clapped his hand on his heart, and said, Here it is, and I am going to seal it with my blood."

Some very extraordinary expressions occur in these dying speeches, as was indeed to be expected from the peculiar tenets of the sufferers. Col. John Jones said of the sledge in which he was dragged to execution, that it was like the fiery chariot of Elijah, *only it went through Fleet-Street.*

This, in my opinion, should altogether silence the dissenters' complaints of persecution under king Charles the Second; or make them show us wherein they differed at that time, from what our jacobites are now.

Then inclinations to the church were soon discovered, when king James the Second succeeded to the crown; with whom they unanimously joined in its ruin, to revenge themselves for that restraint they had most justly suffered in the foregoing reign, not from the persecuting temper of the clergy, as their clamours would suggest, but the prudence and caution of the legislature. The same indulgence against law was made use of by them and the papists, and they amicably employed their power, as in defence of one common interest.

But the revolution happening soon after, served to wash away the memory of the rebellion; upon which the run against popery was no doubt as just and seasonable, as that of fanaticism after the restoration. and the dread of popery being then our latest danger, and consequently the most fresh upon our spirits, all mouths were open against that, the dissenters were rewarded with an indulgence by law; the rebellion and king's murder were now no longer a reproach; the former was only a civil war, and whoever durst call it a rebellion, was a jacobite and friend to France. This was the more unexpected, because, the revolution being wholly brought about by church of England hands, they hoped one good consequence of it would be, the relieving us from the encroachments of dissenters, as well as those of papists; since both had equally confederated toward our ruin. and therefore, when the crown was new settled, it was hoped at least that the

rest of the constitution would be restored. But this affair took a very different turn: the dissenters had just made a shift to save a tide, and join with the prince of Orange, when they found all was desperate with their protector king James; and observing a party then forming against the old principles in church and state, under the name of Whigs and low-churchmen, they listed themselves of it, where they have ever since continued. It is, therefore, upon the foot they now are, that I would apply myself to them, and desire they would consider the different circumstances at present, from what they were under when they began their designs against the church and monarchy, about seventy years ago. At that juncture they made up the body of the party; and whosoever joined with them from principles of revenge, discontent, ambition, or love of change, were all forced to shelter under their denomination; united heartily in the pretences of a farther and purer reformation in religion, and of advancing the great work (as the cant was then) that God was about to do in these nations; received the systems of doctrine and discipline prescribed by the Scots, and readily took the covenant; so that there appeared no division among them, till after the common enemy was subdued.

But now their case is quite otherwise: and I can hardly think it worth being of a party, upon the terms they have been received of late years. For, suppose the whole faction should at length succeed in their design of destroying the church; are they so weak as to imagine, that the new modelling of religion would be put into their hands? would their brethren, the low-churchmen and freethinkers, submit to their discipline, their synods, and their classes; and divide the lands of

bishops, or deans and chapters, among them? how can they help observing, that their allies, instead of pretending more sanctity than other men, are some of them for levelling all religion, and the rest for abolishing it? Is it not manifest, that they have been treated by their confederates exactly after the same manner as they were by king James the Second; made instruments to ruin the church; not for their own sakes, but, under a pretended project of universal freedom in opinion, to advance the dark designs of those who employ them? for, excepting the antimonarchical principle, and a few false notions about liberty, I see but little agreement between them; and even in these, I believe, it would be impossible to contrive a frame of government that would please them all, if they had it now in their power to try. But however, to be sure the presbyterian institution would never obtain. For, suppose they should, in imitation of their predecessors, propose to have no king but our Saviour Christ; the whole clan of freethinkers would immediately object, and refuse his authority. Neither would their low-church brethren use them better, as well knowing what enemies they are to that doctrine of unlimited toleration, wherever they are suffered to preside. So that, upon the whole, I do not see, as their present circumstances stand, where the dissenters can find better quarter than from the church of England.

Besides, I leave it to their consideration, whether, with all their zeal against the church, they ought not to show a little decency; and how far it consists with their reputation to act in concert with such confederates. It was reckoned a very infamous proceeding in the present most christian king, to assist the Turk against the emperor: policy

and reasons of state were not allowed sufficient excuses, for taking part with an infidel against a believer. It is one of the dissenters' quarrels against the church, that she is not enough reformed from popery; yet they boldly entered into a league with papists and a popish prince to destroy her. They profess much sanctity, and object against the wicked lives of some of our members; yet they have been long, and still continue, in strict combination with libertines and atheists to contrive our ruin. What if the Jews should multiply, and become a formidable party among us? Would the dissenters join in alliance with them likewise, because they agree already in some general principles, and because the Jews are allowed to be a stiffnecked and rebellious people?

It is the part of wise men to conceal their passions, when they are not in circumstances of exciting them to purpose: the arts of getting power, and preserving indulgence, are very different. For the former, the reasonable hopes of the dissenters seem to be at an end, their comrades, the Whigs and freethinkers, are just in a condition proper to be forsaken; and the parliament, as well as the body of the people, will be deluded no longer. Besides, it sometimes happens for a cause to be exhausted and worn out, as that of the Whigs in general seems at present to be. the nation had felt enough of it. It is as vain to hope restoring that decayed interest, as for a man of sixty to talk of entering on a new scene of life, that is only proper for youth and vigour. New circumstances and new men must arise, as well as new occasions, which are not likely to happen in our time. So that the dissenters have no game left at present, but to secure their indulgence. in or-

der to which, I will be so bold as to offer them some advice.

First, That until some late proceedings are a little forgot, they would take care not to provoke, by any violence of tongue or pen, so great a majority as there is now against them; nor keep up any longer that combination with their broken allies, but disperse themselves, and lie dormant against some better opportunity. I have shown they could have got no advantage, if the late party had prevailed, and they will certainly lose none by its fall, unless through their own fault. They pretend a mighty veneration for the queen; let them give proof of it by quitting the ruined interest of those who have used her so ill, and by a due respect to the persons she is pleased to trust at present with her affairs. When they can no longer hope to govern, when struggling can do them no good, and may possibly hurt them, what is left, but to be silent and passive?

Secondly, Although there be no law (beside that of God Almighty) against occasional conformity, it would be prudence in the dissenters to use it as tenderly as they can: for, beside the infamous hypocrisy of the thing itself, too frequent practice would perhaps make a remedy necessary. And after all they have said to justify themselves in this point, it still continues hard to conceive, how those consciences can pretend to be scrupulous, upon which an employment has more power, than the love of unity.

In the last place, I am humbly of opinion, that the dissenters would do well to drop that lesson they have learned from their directors, of affecting to be under horrible apprehensions, that the Tories are in the interest of the pretender, and would be ready to embrace the first opportunity

of inviting him over. It is with the worst grace in the world that they offer to join in the cry upon this article, as if those, who alone stood in the gap against all the encroachments of popery and arbitrary power, are not more likely to keep out both, than a set of schismatics, who, to gratify their ambition and revenge, did, by the meanest compliances, encourage and spirit up that unfortunate prince, to fall upon such measures, as must at last have ended in the ruin of our liberty and religion.

P.S. I wish those who give themselves the trouble to write to the Examiner, would consider whether what they send would be proper for such a paper to take notice of. I had one letter last week, written as I suppose by a divine, to desire I would offer some reasons against a bill now before the parliament for ascertaining the tithe of hops, from which the writer apprehends great damage to the clergy, especially the poorer vicars. If it be as he says, (and he seems to argue very reasonably upon it) the convocation now sitting will, no doubt, upon due application, represent the matter to the House of Commons, and he may expect all justice and favour from that great body, who have already appeared so tender of their rights. A gentleman likewise, who has sent me several letters relating to personal hardships he received from some of the late ministry, is advised to publish a narrative of them, they being too large, and not proper for this paper.

No. XXXVII.

THURSDAY, APRIL 19, 1711.

Semper causæ eventorum magis movent quam ipsa eventa.

We are always more moved at the causes of events, than at the events themselves.

I AM glad to observe that several among the Whigs have begun very much to change their language of late. The style is now among the reasonable part of them, when they meet a man in business, or a member of parliament, well, gentlemen, if you go on as you have hitherto done, we shall no longer have any pretence to complain. they find, it seems, that there have been yet no overtures made to bring in the pretender, nor any preparatory steps toward it. They read no enslaving votes, nor bills brought in to endanger the subject. The indulgence to scrupulous consciences is again confirmed from the throne, inviolably preserved, and not the least whisper offered that may affect it. All care is taken to support the war, supplies cheerfully granted, and funds readily subscribed to, in spite of the little arts made use of to discredit them. The just resentments of some, which are laudable in themselves, and to which, at another juncture, it might be proper to give way, have been softened or diverted by the calmness of others; so that, upon the article of present management, I do not see how any objection of weight can well be raised.

However, our adversaries still allege, that this great success was wholly unexpected, and out

of all probable view ; that in public affairs we ought least of all others to judge by events ; that the attempt of changing a ministry during the difficulties of a long war, was rash and inconsiderate, that if the queen were disposed, by her inclinations, or from any personal dislike, for such a change, it might have been done with more safety in a time of peace, that if it had miscarried by any of those incidents, which in all appearance might have intervened, the consequences would perhaps have ruined the whole confederacy ; and therefore, however it has now succeeded, the experiment was too dangerous to try

But this is what we can by no means allow them We never will admit rashness, or chance, to have produced all this harmony and order. It is visible to the world, that the several steps toward this change were slowly taken, and with the utmost caution The moves observed as they went on, how matters would bear, and advanced no farther at first, than so as they might be able to stop, or go back, if circumstances were not mature. Things were grown to such a height, that it was no longer the question, whether a person who aimed at an employment, were a Whig or Tory ; much less, whether he had merit, or proper abilities, for what he pretended to : he must owe his preferment only to the favourites, and the crown was so far from nominating, that they would not allow it a negative. Thus the queen was resolved no longer to endure, and began to break into their prescription, by bestowing one or two places of consequence, ' with-

* See Memoirs respecting the Change of Ministry, Vol. III. for the circumstances attending it.

out consulting her ephoræ, after they had fixed them for others, and concluded as usual, that all their business was to signify their pleasure to her majesty. But, although the persons the queen had chosen, were such, as no objection could well be raised against upon the score of party, yet the oligarchy took the alarm, their sovereign authority was, it seems, called in question; they grew into anger and discontent, as if their undoubted rights were violated. All former obligations to their sovereign now became cancelled; and they put themselves upon the foot of the people, who are hardly used after the most eminent services.

I believe all men, who know any thing in politics, will agree, that a prince thus treated by those he has most confided in, and perpetually loaded with his favours, ought to extricate himself as soon as possible; and is then only blameable in his choice of time, when he defers one minute after it is in his power; because, from the monstrous encroachments of exorbitant avarice and ambition, he cannot tell how long it may continue to beso. And it will be found, upon enquiring into history, that most of those princes, who have been ruined by favourites, have owed their misfortune to the neglect of earlier remedies, deferring to struggle, until they were quite sunk.

The Whigs are every day cursing the ungovernable rage, the haughty pride, and insatiable covetousness of a certain person,* as the cause of their fall; and are apt to tell their thoughts, that

* The Duchess of Marlborough; whose haughty conduct to the Queen occasioned the rupture betwixt her majesty and the administration formed under the duchess's influence, and composed chiefly of her allies.

one single removal might have set all things right. But the interests of that single person were found, upon experience, so complicated and woven with the rest, by love, by awe, by marriage, by alliance, that they would rather confound heaven and earth, than dissolve such a union.

I have always heard and understood, that a king of England, possessed of his people's hearts, at the head of a free parliament, and in full agreement with a great majority, made the true figure in the world that such a monarch ought to do ; and pursued the real interest of himself and his kingdom. Will they allow her majesty to be in those circumstances at present ? And was it not plain, by the addresses sent from all parts of the island,* and by the visible disposition of the people, that such a parliament would undoubtedly be chosen ? and so it proved, without the court's using any arts to influence elections.

What people then are these in a corner, to whom the constitution must truckle ? If the whole nation's credit cannot supply funds for the war, without humble applications from the entire legislature to a few retailers of money, it is high time we should sue for a peace. What new maxims are these, which neither we nor our forefathers ever heard of before, and which no wise

* " The bulk of the High Church, or Tory party, being no less exasperated against the Low Church party than their leaders, were uneasy at the long, not to say imperious reign, of the old ministers and favourites, they were both very industrious in procuring addresses, which, under pretence of expressing their loyalty to the Queen, and affection to the church established, were mainly levelled, like so many batteries, against the ministry and parliament, and whole moderate party."—*Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne*, Vol. IX. p. 158.

institution would ever allow ? must our laws from henceforward pass the Bank and East India company, or have then royal assent, before they are in force ?

To hear some of those worthy reasoners talking of credit, that she is so nice, so squeamish, so capricious, you would think they were describing a lady troubled with vapours or the colick, to be removed only by a course of steel, or swallowing a bullet. By the narrowness of their thoughts, one would imagine they conceived the world to be no wider than Exchange Alley. It is probable they may have such a sickly dame among them ; and it is well if she has no worse diseases, considering what hands she passes through. But the national credit is of another complexion ; of sound health, and an even temper ; her life and existence being a quintessence drawn from the vitals of the whole kingdom ; and we find these money politicians, after all their noise, to be of the same opinion, by the count they paid her, when she lately appeared to them in the form of a lottery.*

As to that mighty error in politics they charge upon the queen, for changing her ministry in the

* The lottery bill received the royal assent on the 6th March, and advertisement was made, that payments would begin to be received on Tuesday the 13th. But when the receivers met for this purpose on the morning of that day, it was found that L. 27,000 had been subscribed at the Bank of England above the first payment of the whole sum of L. 1,500,000. So that the lottery was more than full before the books were opened. But such a cry was raised against the directors of the bank and stock-jobbers, for having engrossed the fund to the disappointment of the public, that they found themselves obliged to give up one-fifth part of the tickets purchased. As these monied men were chiefly Whigs, Swift's sarcasm is easily understood.

height of a war, I suppose it is only looked upon as an error under a Whiggish administration otherwise the late king had much to answer for, who did it pretty frequently. And it is well known, that the late ministry of famous memory, was brought in during the present war, only with this circumstance, that two or three of the chief did first change their own principles, and then took in suitable companions.

But, however, I see no reason why the Tories should not value their wisdom by events, as well as the Whigs. Nothing was ever thought a more precipitate, rash counsel, than that of altering the coin at the juncture it was done, yet the prudence of the undertaking was sufficiently justified by the success. Perhaps it will be said, that the attempt was necessary, because the whole species of money was so grievously clipped and counterfeit. And is not her majesty's authority as sacred as her coin? And has not that been most scandalously clipped and mangled, and often counterfeited too?

It is another grievous complaint of the Whigs, that their late friends, and the whole party, are treated with abundance of severity in print, and in particular by the Examiner. They think it hard, that when they are wholly deprived of power, hated by the people, and out of all hope of establishing themselves, their infirmities should be so often displayed, in order to render them yet more odious to mankind. This is what they employ their writers to set forth in their papers of the week, and it is humorous enough to observe one page taken up in railing at the Examiner, for his invectives against a discarded ministry; and the other side filled with the falsest and vilest abuses, against those who are now in

the highest power and credit with their sovereign, and whose last breath would scatter them in silence and obscurity. However, although I have indeed often wondered to see so much licentiousness taken and connived at, and am sure it would not be suffered in any other country of Christendom; yet I never once invoked the assistance of the gaol or pillory, which, upon the least provocation, was the usual style during their tyranny. There has not passed a week these twenty years, without some malicious paper scattered in every coffee-house by the emissaries of that party, whether it were down or up. I believe they will not pretend to object the same thing to us. nor do I remember any constant weekly paper with reflections on the late ministry or junto. They have many weak defenceless parts, they have not been used to a regular attack. and therefore it is that they are so ill able to endure one, when it comes to be their turn; so that they complain more of a few months truths from us, than we did of all their scandal and malice for twice as many years.

I cannot forbear observing upon this occasion, that those worthy authors I am speaking of, seem to me not faulty to represent the sentiments of their party; who, in disputing with us, do generally give up several of the late ministry, and freely own many of their failings. They confess the monstrous debt upon the navy to have been caused by most scandalous mismanagement, they allow the insolence of some, the avarice of others, to have been insupportable; but these gentlemen are most liberal in their praises to those persons, and upon those very articles, where their wisest friends give up the point. They gravely tell us,

that such a one was the most faithful servant that ever any prince had, another, the most dutiful; a third, the most generous; a fourth, of the greatest integrity; so that I look upon these champions rather as retained by a cabal than a party; which I desire the reasonable men among them would please to consider.

No. XXXVIII.

THURSDAY, APRIL 26, 1711.

Indignum est in ea civitate, quæ legibus continetur, discedi a legibus.

It is shameful and unworthy in a state, whose support and preservation is founded on laws, that the laws should be rendered useless, and evaded.

I HAVE been often considering how it comes to pass, that the dexterity of mankind in evil, should always outgrow, not only the prudence and caution of private persons, but the continual expedience of the wisest laws contrived to prevent it. I cannot imagine a knave to possess a greater share of natural wit or genius, than an honest man. I have known very notable sharpers at play, who, upon other occasions, were as great dunces as human shape can well allow; and I believe, the same might be observed among the other knots of thieves and pick-pockets about

this town * The proposition, however, is certainly true, and to be confirmed by a hundred instances. A scrivener, an attorney, a stockjobber, and many other retailers of fraud, shall not only be able to over-reach others much wiser than themselves, but find out new inventions to elude the force of any law made against them. I suppose the reason of this may be, that as the aggressor is said to have generally the advantage of the defender, so the makers of the law, which is to defend our rights, have usually not so much industry or vigour, as those whose interest leads them to attack it. Besides, it rarely happens that men are rewarded by the public for their justice and virtue; neither do those who act upon such principles expect any recompense until the next world; whereas fraud, where it succeeds, gives present pay; and this is allowed the greatest spur imaginable both to labour and invention. When a law is made to stop some growing evil, the wits of those whose interest it is to break it with secrecy or impunity, are immediately at work; and even among those who pretend to fairer characters, many would gladly find means to avoid, what they would not be thought to violate. They desire to reap the advantage, if possible, without the shame, or at least without the danger. This art is what I take that dexterous race of men, sprung up soon after the Revolution, to have studied with great application ever since; and to have arrived at great perfection in. Ac-

* It may indeed be remarked, that many of those who resemble the fox in the ingenuity of their predatory stratagems, are, like the same animal, dull and incapable of receiving instruction to any useful purpose.

cording to the doctrine of some Romish casuists, they have found out *quam propè ad peccatum sine peccato possint accedere*; they can tell how to go within an inch of an impeachment, and yet come back untouched. They know what degree of corruption will just forfeit an employment, and whether the bribe you receive be sufficient to set you right, and put something in your pocket besides, how much to a penny you may safely cheat the queen, whether forty, fifty, or sixty per cent, according to the station you are in, and the dispositions of the persons in office below and above you. They have computed the price you may securely take or give for a place, or what part of the salary you ought to reserve; they can discreetly distribute five hundred pounds in a small borough, without any danger from the statutes against bribing at elections. They can manage a bargain for an office by a third, fourth, or fifth hand, so that you shall not know whom to accuse; they can win a thousand guineas at play in spite of the dice, and send away the loser satisfied. They can pass the most exorbitant accounts, overpay the creditor with half his demands, and sink the rest.

It would be endless to relate, or rather indeed impossible to discover, the several arts, which curious men have found out to enrich themselves, by defrauding the public, in defiance of the law. The military men, both by sea and land, have equally cultivated this most useful science; neither has it been altogether neglected by the other sex; of which, on the contrary, I could produce an instance, that would make ours blush to be so far outdone.

Besides, to confess the truth, our laws themselves are extremely defective in many articles,

which I take to be one ill effect of our best possession, liberty. Some years ago the ambassador of a great prince * was arrested, and outrages committed on his person in our streets, without any possibility of redress from Westminster-hall, or the prerogative of the sovereign; and the legislature was forced to provide a remedy against the like evils in time to come. † A commissioner of the stamped paper ‡ was lately discovered to have notoriously cheated the public of great sums, for many years, by counterfeiting the stamps, which the law has made capital; but the aggravation of his crime proved to be the cause that saved his life; and that additional heightening circumstance of betraying his trust, was found to be a legal defence. I am assured, that the notorious cheat of the brewers at Portsmouth, detected about two months ago in parliament, cannot, by

* Peter the Great, czar of Muscovy.

† In September 1707, Matveof, the Russian ambassador, having taken leave at court, one Morton, a laceman, with some of his other creditors, fearing he was about to leave the kingdom without satisfying their claims, had him arrested in the open street, and forced to a spunging house. Czar Peter the Great was violent and inexorable in his demand of satisfaction for this indignity, nor was it possible for a long time to convince him that the creditors had, however imprudently, only availed themselves of the means of recovering their debts allowed them by the laws of the country; and that, therefore, no legal punishment could be inflicted on them. At length, in 1709, the Czar consented to rest satisfied with the queen's formal excuses, on account of the insufficiency of the laws; and an act was past to secure the persons, equipages, and effects of ambassadors, from such indignities in future.

‡ He was a justice of peace, and worth twenty thousand pounds. His name was Dyet. His trial took place at the Old Bailey 13 Jan. 1710-11. See *Journal to Stella*, 3d October, 1710.

any law now in force, be punished in any degree equal to the guilt and infamy of it † Nay, what is almost incredible, had Guiscard survived his detestable attempt upon Mr Harley's person, all the inflaming circumstances of the fact would not have sufficed, in the opinion of many lawyers, to have punished him with death; and the public must have lain under this dilemma, either to condemn him by a law *ex post facto*, (which would have been of dangerous consequence, and form an ignominious precedent,) or undergo the mortification to see the greatest villain upon earth escape unpunished, to the infinite triumph and delight of popery and faction. But even this is not to be wondered at, when we consider, that of all the insolences offered to the queen since the act of indemnity, (at least that ever came to my ears,) I can hardly instance above two or three, which, by the letter of the law, could amount to high treason.

From these defects in our laws, and the want

† He alludes to a scandalous abuse detected by a representation from the victuallers of the navy, presented to the House of Commons. It was founded in each seaman being allowed seven pints of beer per day; and although, when ships were in port, it was usual for the captain to allow great part of the crew to go ashore, the same quantity was charged to government, the allowance of the absentees being held the perquisite of the purser, and through him of the captain. The surplus beer was either sold to merchant vessels, or, what was more common, it was never received from the brewer, who gave the purser a sum of money in exchange for the difference between the quantity paid for by government, and that actually sent on board the vessel. By these collusory contracts, the nation was defrauded of large sums. Thomas Ridge, Esq., a member of the House of Commons, was expelled the House, and ordered to be prosecuted by the attorney general for being accessory to such a fraud.

of some discretionary power, safely lodged, to exert upon emergencies; as well as from the great acquisitions of able men to elude the penalties of those laws they break, it is no wonder that the injuries done to the public are so seldom redressed. But besides, no individual suffers by any wrong he does to the commonwealth, in proportion to the advantage he gains by doing it. There are seven or eight millions, who contribute to the loss, while the whole gain is sunk among a few. The damage suffered by the public, is not so immediately or heavily felt by particular persons; and the zeal of prosecutions is apt to drop and be lost among numbers.

But imagine a set of politicians for many years at the head of affairs, the game visibly their own, and by consequence, acting with great security; may not these be sometimes tempted to forget their caution, by length of time, by excess of avarice and ambition, by the insolence or violence of their nature, or perhaps by a mere contempt for their adversaries? may not such motives as these put them often upon actions directly against the law, such as no evasions can be found for, and which will lay them fully open to the vengeance of a prevailing interest, whenever they are out of power? it is answered in the affirmative. And here we cannot refuse the late ministry their due praises; who, foreseeing a storm, provided for their own safety by two admirable expedients, by which, with great prudence, they have escaped the punishments due to pernicious counsels, and corrupt management. The first was to procure, under pretences hardly specious, a general act of indemnity, which cuts off all impeachments. The second was yet more refined; suppose, for instance, a counsel is to be pursued,

which is necessary to carry on the dangerous designs of a prevailing party, to preserve them in power, to gratify the unmeasurable appetites of a few leaders civil and military, although by hazarding the ruin of the whole nation; this counsel, desperate in itself, unprecedented in its nature, they procure a majority to form into an address, which makes it look like the sense of the nation. Under that shelter they carry on their work, and lie secure against after-reckonings.

I must be so free to tell my meaning in this; that among other things, I understand it of the address made to the queen about three years ago, to desire that her majesty would not consent to a peace, without the entire restitution of Spain;* a proceeding, which, to people abroad, must look like the highest strain of temerity, folly, and gasconade. But we at home, who allow the promoters of that advice to be no fools, can easily comprehend the depth and mystery of it. They were assured by this means to pin down the war upon us; consequently, to increase their own power and wealth, and multiply difficulties on the queen and kingdom, until they had fixed their party too firmly to be shaken, whenever they should find themselves disposed to reverse their address, and give us leave to wish for a peace.

If any man entertains a more favourable opinion of this monstrous step in politics, I would

In December 1707, both Houses of Parliament concurred in an address to the queen, founded upon previous resolutions adopted by the Lords, the first of which was, "That no peace could be safe or honourable for her majesty and her allies, if Spain and the Spanish West Indies were suffered to continue in the possession of the house of Bourbon."

ask him, what we must do in case we find it impossible to recover Spain? Those among the Whigs, who believe a God, will confess that the events of war lie in his hands; and the rest of them, who acknowledge no such power, will allow, that fortune has too great a share in the good or ill success of military actions, to let a wise man reason upon them, as if they were entirely in his power. If Providence should think fit to refuse success to our arms, with how ill a grace, with what shame and confusion, shall we be obliged to recant that precipitate address, unless the world will be so charitable to consider, that parliaments among us differ as much as princes, and that by the fatal conjunction of many unhappy circumstances, it is very possible for our island to be represented sometimes by those, who have the least pretensions. So little truth or justice there is in what some pretend to advance, that the actions of former senates ought always to be treated with respect by the latter; that those assemblies are all equally venerable, and no one to be preferred before another; by which argument, the parliament that began the rebellion against King Charles I, voted his trial, and appointed his murderers, ought to be remembered with respect.

But to return from this digression; it is very plain, that, considering the defectiveness of our laws, the variety of cases, the weakness of the prerogative, the power or cunning of ill-designing men, it is possible that many great abuses may be visibly committed, which cannot be legally punished; especially if we add to this, that some inquiries might probably involve those, whom upon other accounts it is not thought con-

venient to disturb. Therefore it is very false reasoning, especially in the management of public affairs, to argue that men are innocent, because the law has not pronounced them guilty

I am apt to think it was to supply such defects as these, that satire was first introduced into the world; whereby those, whom neither religion, nor natural virtue, nor fear of punishment, were able to keep within the bounds of their duty, might be withheld by the shame of having their crimes exposed to open view in the strongest colours, and themselves rendered odious to mankind. Perhaps all this may be little regarded by such hardened and abandoned natures as I have to deal with; but, next to taming or binding a savage animal, the best service you can do the neighbourhood, is to give them warning either to arm themselves, or not come in its way.

Could I have hoped for any signs of remorse from the leaders of that faction, I should very gladly have changed my style, and forgot, or passed by, their million of enormities. But they are every day more fond of discovering their impotent zeal and malice; witness their conduct in the city about a fortnight ago, which had no other end imaginable, beside that of perplexing our affairs, and endeavouring to make things desperate, that themselves may be thought necessary. While they continue in this frantic mood, I shall not forbear to treat them as they deserve; that is to say, as the inveterate irreconcilable enemies to our country, and its constitution.

No. XXXIX.

THURSDAY, MAY 3, 1711.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes ?

————— in vain
The Gracchi of sedition will complain.

THERE have been certain topics of reproach liberally bestowed, for some years past, by the Whigs and Tories, upon each other. We charge the formér, with a design of destroying the established church, and introducing fanaticism and freethinking in its stead. We accuse them as enemies to monarchy; as endeavouring to undermine the present form of government, and to build a commonwealth, or some new scheme of their own, upon its ruins. On the other side, their clamours against us may be summed up in those three formidable words, Popery, Arbitrary Power, and the Pretender. Our accusations against them we endeavour to make good by certain overt acts, such as their perpetually abusing the whole body of the clergy; their declared contempt for the very order of priesthood; their aversion against episcopacy; the public encouragement and patronage they give to Tindal, Toland, and other atheistical writers; their appearing as professed advocates retained by the dissenters, excusing their separation, and laying the guilt of it to the obstinacy of the church; their frequent endeavours to repeal the test, and their setting up the indulgence to scrupulous consciences.

ces, as a point of greater importance than the established worship. The regard they bear to our monarchy, has appeared, by their openly ridiculing the martyrdom of King Charles I in their calves-head clubs, their common discourses, and their pamphlets; then denying the unnatural war raised against that prince, to have been a rebellion; then justifying his murder in the allowed papers of the week; their industry in publishing and spreading seditious and republican tracts, such as Ludlow's Memoirs, Sidney on Government, and many others; their endless lopping of the prerogative, and mincing into nothing her majesty's titles to the crown.

What proofs they bring for our endeavouring to introduce popery, arbitrary power, and the pretence, I cannot readily tell, and would be glad to hear; however, those important words having, by dextrous management, been found of mighty service to their cause, although applied with little colour either of reason or justice, I have been considering, whether they may not be adapted to more proper objects.

As to popery, which is the first of these; to deal plainly, I can hardly think there is any set of men among us, except the professors of it, who have any direct intention to introduce it here; but the question is, whether the principles and practices of us, or the Whigs, be most likely to make way for it? It is allowed on all hands, that among the methods concerted at Rome, for bringing over England into the bosom of the catholic church, one of the chief was to send jesuits, and other emissaries, in lay habits, who, personating tradesmen and mechanics, should mix with the people, and under the pretence of a farther and purer reformation, endeavour to divide us into as

many sects as possible; which would either put us under the necessity of returning to our old errors, to preserve peace at home; or, by our divisions, make way for some powerful neighbour, with the assistance of the pope's permission, and a consecrated banner, to convert and enslave us at once. If this has been reckoned good politics, (and it was the best the jesuit schools could invent) I appeal to any man, whether the Whigs, for many years past, have not been employed in the very same work? They professed on all occasions, that they knew no reason why any one system of speculative opinions (as they term the doctrines of the church) should be established by law, more than another; or why employments should be confined to the religion of the magistrate, and that called the church established. The grand maxim they laid down was, that no man, for the sake of a few notions and ceremonies, under the names of doctrine and discipline, should be denied the liberty of serving his country: as if places would go a begging unless brownists, familists, sweet-singers, quakers, anabaptists, and muggletonians, would take them off our hands.

I have been sometimes imagining this scheme brought to perfection, and how diverting it would be to see half a dozen sweet-singers on the bench in their ermines, and two or three quakers with their white staves at court. I can only say, this project is the very counterpart of the late king James's design, which he took up as the best method for introducing his own religion, under the pretext of a universal liberty of conscience, and that no difference in religion should make any in his favour. Accordingly, to save appearances, he dealt some employments among dissenters of most

denominations ; and what he did was, no doubt, in pursuance of the best advice he could get at home or abroad ; but the church thought it the most dangerous step he could take for her destruction. It is true king James admitted papists among the rest, which the Whigs would not : but this is sufficiently made up by a material circumstance, wherein they seem to have much out-done that prince, and to have carried their liberty of conscience to a higher point, having granted it to all the classes of freethinkers, (which the nice conscience of a popish prince would not give him leave to do) and were therein mightily overseen ; because it is agreed by the learned, that there is but a very narrow step from atheism, to the other extreme, superstition. So that upon the whole, whether the Whigs had any real design of bringing in popery or not, it is very plain that they took the most effectual step toward it ; and if the jesuits had been their immediate directors, they could not have taught them better, nor have found apter scholars.

Their second accusation is, that we encourage and maintain arbitrary power in princes ; and promote enslaving doctrines among the people. This they go about to prove by instances ; producing the particular opinions of certain divines in king Charles II.'s reign, a decree of Oxford university, and some few writers since the Revolution. What they mean is the principle of passive obedience and non-resistance, which those who affirm, did, I believe, never intend should include arbitrary power. However, although I am sensible that it is not reckoned prudent in a dispute to make any concessions, without the last necessity ; yet I do agree, that, in my own private opinion, some writers did carry that tenet of passive obedience

to a height, which seemed hardly consistent with the liberties of a country, whose laws can neither be enacted nor repealed, without the consent of the whole people. I mean not those, who affirm it due in general, as it certainly is, to the legislature; but such as fix it entirely in the prince's person. This last has, I believe, been done by a very few; but when the Whigs quote authors to prove it upon us, they bring in all who mention it as a duty in general, without applying it to princes abstracted from their senate.

By thus freely declaring my own sentiments of passive obedience, it will at least appear that I do not write for a party; neither do I upon any occasion pretend to speak their sentiments, but my own. The majority of the two Houses, and the present ministry (if those be a party) seem to me in all their proceedings to pursue the real interest of church and state, and if I should happen to differ from particular persons among them, in a single notion about government, I suppose they will not upon that account explode me and my paper. However, as an answer, once for all, to the tedious scurrilities of those idle people, who affirm I am hired and directed what to write, I must here inform them, that their censure is an effect of their principles. The present ministry are under no necessity of employing prostitute pens; they have no dark designs to promote by advancing heterodox opinions.

But (to return) suppose two or three private divines under king Charles the Second did a little overstrain the doctrine of passive obedience to princes; some allowance might be given to the memory of that unnatural rebellion against his father, and the dismal consequences of resistance. It is plain, by the proceedings of the churchmen

before and at the Revolution, that this doctrine was never designed to introduce arbitrary power.*

I look upon the Whigs and dissenters to be exactly of the same political faith; let us therefore see, what share each of them had in advancing arbitrary power. It is manifest, that the fanatics made Cromwell the most absolute tyrant in Christendom. The rump abolished the House of Lords, the army abolished the rump, and by this army of saints he governed. The dissenters took liberty of conscience and employments from the late king James, as an acknowledgment of his dispensing power; which makes a king of England as absolute as the Turk. The Whigs, under the late king, perpetually declared for keeping up a standing army in times of peace; which has, in all ages, been the first and great step to the ruin of liberty. They were besides discovering every day their inclinations to destroy the rights of the church, and declared their opinion in all companies against the bishops sitting in the House of Peers; which was exactly copying after their predecessors of 1641. I need not say, their real intentions were to make the king absolute, but whatever be the designs of innovating men, they usually end in a tyranny; as we may see by a hundred examples in Greece, and in the later commonwealths of Italy mentioned by Machiavel.

In the third place, the Whigs accuse us of a design to bring in the pretender; and to give it a greater air of probability, they suppose the queen to be a party in this design; which, however, is

* From this and many previous passages, it is obvious, that in joining the Tories, Swift reserved to himself the right of putting his own interpretation upon the speculative points of their political creed.

no very extraordinary supposition in those, who have advanced such singular paradoxes concerning Greg and Guiscard. Upon this article their charge is general, without ever offering to produce an instance. But I verily think and believe, it will appear no paradox, that if ever he be brought in, the Whigs are his men. For first, it is an undoubted truth, that a year or two after the Revolution, several leaders of that party had their pardons sent them by the late king James; and had entered upon measures to restore him, on account of some disobligation they received from king William. * Besides, I would ask, whether those who were under the greatest ties of gratitude to King James, are not at this day become the most zealous Whigs? and of what party those are now, who kept a long correspondence with St. Germain's?

It is likewise very observable of late, that the Whigs, upon all occasions, profess their belief of the pretender's being no impostor, but a real prince, born of the late queen's body, which, whether it be true or false, is very unseasonably advanced, considering the weight such an opinion must have with the vulgar, if they once thoroughly believe it. Neither is it at all improbable, that the pretender himself puts his chief hopes in the friendship he expects from the dissenters and Whigs, by his choice to invade the kingdom, when the latter were most in credit, and

* Marlborough, Sunderland, and Godolphin, are said to have been of this number; and it is added, that when the pardon was offered to James for his signature, he exclaimed, He never could forgive Lord Churchill until he should efface the memory of his ingratitude, by some eminent service.

he had reason to count upon the former, from the gracious treatment they received from his supposed father, and their joyful acceptance of it. But farther, What could be more consistent with the Whiggish notion of a revolution principle, than to bring in the pretender? A revolution principle, as their writings and discourses have taught us to define it, is a principle perpetually disposing men to revolutions, and this is suitable to the famous saying of a great Whig, that the more revolutions the better; which, how odd a maxim soever in appearance, I take to be the true characteristic of the party.

A dog loves to turn round often; yet after certain revolutions he lies down to rest. but heads under the dominion of the moon, are for perpetual changes, and perpetual revolutions, besides, the Whigs owe all their wealth to wars and revolutions; like the gill at Bartholomew fair, who gets a penny by turning round a hundred times with swords in her hands.*

To conclude, the Whigs have a natural faculty of bringing in pretenders, and will therefore probably endeavour to bring in the great one at last. How many pretenders to wit, honour, nobility, politics, have they brought in these last twenty years: in short, they have been sometimes able to procure a majority of pretenders in parliament; and wanted nothing to render the work complete, except a pretender at their head.

* An exhibition described at length in Ward's London Spy. The wonder and dexterity of the feat consisted in the damsel sustaining a number of drawn swords upright upon her hands, shoulders, and neck, and turning round so nimbly as to make the spectators giddy.

No. XL.

THURSDAY, MAY 10, 1711.

Dos est magna parentum virtus.

The virtue of parents is a large dowry to their children.

I took up a paper some days ago in a coffee-house; and if the correctness of the style, and a superior spirit in it, had not immediately undeceived me, I should have been apt to imagine I had been reading an Examiner. In this paper there were several important propositions advanced. For instance, that Providence had raised up Mr Harley to be an instrument of great good, in a very critical juncture, when it was much wanted; that his very enemies acknowledge his eminent abilities, and distinguished merit, by their unweaned and restless endeavours against his person and reputation, that they have had an inveterate malice against both; that he has been wonderfully preserved from some unparalleled attempts, with more to the same purpose. I immediately computed, by rules of arithmetic, that in the last cited words there was something more intended than the attempt of Guiscard, which, I think, can properly pass but for one of the some. And although I dare not pretend to guess the author's meaning; yet the expression allows such a latitude, that I would venture to hold a wager, most readers, both Whig and Tory, have agreed with me, that this plural

* The speaker's congratulation of Mr Harley in the name of the House, on his escape and recovery.—See the next Number.

number must in all probability, among other facts, take in the business of Gieg.

See now the difference of styles Had I been to have told my thoughts on this occasion, instead of saying how Mr Harley was treated by some persons, and preserved from some unparalleled attempts, I should, with intolerable bluntness and ill manners, have told a formal story of a committee sent to a condemned criminal in Newgate, to bribe him with pardon, on condition he would swear high treason against his master, who discovered his correspondence and secured his person, when a certain grave politician had given him warning to make his escape : and by this means I should have drawn a whole swarm of hedge-writers, to exhaust their catalogue of scurrilities against me, as a liar and slanderer. But, with submission to the author of that fore-mentioned paper, I think he has carried that expression to the utmost it will bear, for, after all this notice, I know of but two attempts against Mr Harley, that can really be called unparalleled, which are those aforesaid of Gieg and Guisard, and as to the rest, I will engage to parallel them from the story of Catiline, and others I could produce.

However, I cannot but observe, with infinite pleasure, that a great part of what I have charged upon the late prevailing faction, and for affirming which I have been adorned with so many decent epithets, has been sufficiently confirmed at several times, by the resolutions of one or the other house of parliament. I may therefore now say, I hope, with good authority, that there have been some unparalleled attempts against Mr Harley ; that the late ministry were justly to blame in some managements, which occasioned the

unfortunate battle of Almanza, and the disappointment at Toulon; that the public has been grievously wronged by most notorious frauds during the Whig administration; that those who advised the bringing in the Palatines, were enemies to the kingdom; that the late managers of the revenue have not duly passed their accounts for a great part of thirty-five millions, and ought not to be trusted in such employments any more. Perhaps, in a little time, I may venture to affirm some other paradoxes of this kind, and produce the same vouchers. And perhaps also, if it had not been so busy a period, instead of one Examiner, the late ministry might have had above four hundred, each of whose little fingers would be heavier than my loins. It makes me think of Neptune's threat to the winds.

Quos ego—sed motos præstat componere fluctus.

Thus, when the sons of Æolus had almost sunk the ship with the tempests they raised, it was necessary to smooth the ocean, and secure the vessel, instead of pursuing the offenders.

But I observe the general expectation at present, instead of dwelling any longer upon conjectures who is to be punished for past miscarriages, seems bent upon the rewards intended to those, who have been so highly instrumental in rescuing our constitution from its late dangers. It is the observation of Tacitus, in the life of Agricola, that his eminent services had raised a general opinion of his being designed by the emperor for prætor of Britain: *Nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur*; and then he adds, *Non semper errat fama, aliquando et eligit*. The judgment of a wise prince, and a general disposition of the people, do often point at the same

person ; and sometimes the popular wishes do often foretel the reward intended for some superior merit. Thus, among several deserving persons, there are two, whom the public vogue has in a peculiar manner singled out, as designed very soon to receive the choicest marks of the royal favour, one of them to be placed in a very high station, and both to increase the number of our nobility.* This, I say, is the general conjecture ; for I pretend to none, nor will be chargeable if it be not fulfilled ; since it is enough for their honour, that the nation thinks them worthy of the greatest rewards

Upon this occasion, I cannot but take notice, that of all the heresies in politics profusely scattered by the partisans of the late administration, none ever displeased me more, or seemed to have more dangerous consequences to monarchy, than that pernicious talent, so much affected, of discovering a contempt for birth, family, and ancient nobility. All the threadbare topics of poets and orators were displayed to discover to us, that merit and virtue were the only nobility ; and that the advantages of blood could not make a knave or a fool, either honest or wise. Most popular commotions we read of in the histories of Greece and Rome, took their rise from unjust quarrels to the nobles ; and in the latter, the plebeians' encroachments on the patricians were the first cause of their ruin.

Suppose there be nothing but opinion in the difference of blood, every body knows, that authority is very much founded on opinion. But surely that difference is not wholly imaginary

* Hailey and Harcourt.

The advantages of a liberal education, of choosing the best companions to converse with, not being under the necessity of practising little mean tricks by a scanty allowance, the enlarging of thought, and acquiring the knowledge of men and things by travel, the example of ancestors inciting to great and good actions; these are usually some of the opportunities that fall in the way of those, who are born of what we call the better families and, allowing genius to be equal in them and the vulgar, the odds are clearly on their side. Nay, we may observe in some, who, by the appearance of merit, or favour of fortune, have risen to great stations from an obscure birth, that they have still retained some sordid vices of their parentage or education; either insatiable avarice, or ignominious falsehood and corruption.

To say the truth, the great neglect of education in several noble families, whose sons are suffered to pass the most improvable seasons of their youth in vice and idleness, have too much lessened their reputation. but even this misfortune we owe, among all the rest, to that Whiggish practice of reviling the universities, under the pretence of their instilling pedantry, narrow principles, and high-church doctrines.

I would not be thought to undervalue merit and virtue, wherever they are to be found; but will allow them capable of the highest dignities in a state, when they are in a very great degree of eminence. A pearl holds its value, though it be found in a dunghill, but however, that is not the most probable place to search for it. Nay, I will go farther, and admit, that a man of quality without merit, is just so much the worse for his quality; which at once sets his vices in a

more public view, and reproaches him for them. But, on the other side, I doubt those who are always undervaluing the advantages of birth, and celebrating personal merit, have principally an eye to their own, which they are fully satisfied with, and which nobody will dispute with them about, whereas they cannot, without impudence and folly, pretend to be nobly born, because this is a secret too easily discovered. For no men's parentage is so nicely inquired into as that of assuming upstarts, especially when they affect to make it better than it is, (as they often do) or behave themselves with insolence.

But whatever may be the opinion of others upon this subject, whose philosophical scorn for blood and families reaches even to those that are royal, or perhaps took its rise from a Whiggish contempt of the latter; I am pleased to find two such instances of extraordinary merit, as I have mentioned, joined with ancient and honourable birth; which, whether it be of real or imaginary value, has been held in veneration by all wise polite states, both ancient and modern. And as much a foppery as men pretend to think it, nothing is more observable in those who rise to great place or wealth from mean originals, than their mighty solicitude to convince the world, that they are not so low as is commonly believed. They are glad to find it made out, by some strained genealogy, that they have a remote alliance with better families. Cromwell himself was pleased with the impudence of a flatterer, who undertook to prove him descended from a branch of the royal stem. I know a citizen who adds or alters a letter in his name, with every plum he acquires; he now wants only the change of a

vowel* to be allied to a sovereign prince in Italy,† and that perhaps he may contrive to be done by a mistake of the grave upon his tomb-stone.

When I am upon this subject of nobility, I am sorry for the occasion given me to mention the loss of a person, who is so great an ornament to it, as the late lord president;‡ who began early to distinguish himself in the public service, and passed through the highest employments of state, in the most difficult times, with great abilities and untainted honour. As he was of a good old

* Sir H. Furness

† Farnese.

‡ Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, second son of the great Lord Clarendon. He had much of the elevated spirit of his father, though inferior in capacity, and was a distinguished leader of the Tories through the whole reign of Charles II. In that of James, Lord Rochester refused to change his religion, and was deprived of the office of Treasurer; nor did his consanguinity to Queen Mary procure him much favour in the reign of King William, who used to say, that the year 1700, in which he was placed at the head of affairs, was the most uneasy in his life. Upon the accession of Anne, he became a second time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which office he resigned so soon as the Whigs began to prevail in the queen's ministry. After their disgrace he was made President of the Council, in room of Lord Somers, and died 2d May 1711. Most authors, Burnet himself not excepted, speak favourably of Rochester. The Duchess of Marlborough alone paints him to disadvantage; chiefly, I suppose, owing to her jealousy of his title by birth to have influence with the queen. Her grace uses this odd expression "When one considers that his relation to her was by such a *sort of accident*, 'tis an amazing thing that he should imagine that he was to domineer over the queen, and every body else, as he did over his own family." Now, the *accident* alluded to, was that of the queen's father, when Duke of York, fulfilling the solemn contract under which he had been admitted to her mother's bed, without which accident, it seems pretty clear, that Queen Anne either would not have existed at all, or certainly would not have mounted the throne. The Duchess makes the same confusion respecting the queen's identity, which embarrassed the poor Irishman who complained of being changed at nurse.

age, his principles of religion and loyalty had received no mixture from late infusions, but were instilled into him by his illustrious father, and other noble spirits, who had exposed their lives and fortunes for the royal martyr.

—*Pulcherrima proles,
Magnum heroes nati melioribus annis.*

His first great action was, like Scipio, to defend his father when oppressed by numbers, and his filial piety was not only rewarded with long life, but with a son, who, upon the like occasion, would have shown the same resolution*. No man ever preserved his dignity better when he was out of power, nor showed more affability while he was in. To conclude, his character (which I do not here pretend to draw) is such as his nearest friends may safely trust to the most impartial pen; nor wants the least of that allowance, which, they say, is required for those who are dead.

* Dr Burton, speaking of Edward Earl of Clarendon, says, "I cannot omit this remarkable circumstance in favour of his innocence, that when the tumultuous perplexed charge of accumulated treasons was preferred against him by the Commons, his son, Lawrence, then a member of that House, stepped forth with this brave defiance to his accusers, That if they could make out any proof of any one single article, he would, as he was authorised, join in the condemnation of his father."—*Genuineness of Clarendon's History*, p. 111.

No XLI

THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1711.

———*Quem cur dstringere coner,
Tutus ab infestis latronibus ?*

———Safe ~~it~~ lies
Within the sheath, till thieves and villains rise.

I NEVER let slip an opportunity of endeavouring to convince the world, that I am not partial; and to confound the idle reproach of my being hired or directed what to write in defence of the present ministry, or for detecting the practices of the former. When I first undertook this paper, I firmly resolved, that if ever I observed any gross neglect, abuse, or corruption in the public management, which might give any just offence to reasonable people, I would take notice of it with that innocent boldness which becomes an honest man, and a true lover of his country; at the same time preserving the respect due to persons so highly entrusted by so wise and excellent a queen. I know not how such a liberty might have been resented, but I thank God there has been no occasion given me to exercise it; for I can safely affirm, that I have with the utmost rigour examined all the actions of the present ministry, as far as they fall under general cognizance, without being able to accuse them of one ill or mistaken step. Observing indeed some time ago, that seeds of dissension had been plentifully scattered from a certain corner, and fearing they began to rise and spread, I immediately writ a paper on the subject, which I treated with that warmth I thought it required, but

the prudence of those at the helm, soon prevented this growing evil; and at present it seems likely to have no consequences.

I have had indeed for some time a small occasion of quarrelling, which I thought too inconsiderable for a formal subject of complaint, although I have hinted at it more than once. But it is grown at present to as great a height, as a matter of that nature can possibly bear; and therefore I conceive it high time that an effectual stop should be put to it. I have been amazed at the flaming licentiousness of several weekly papers, which, for some months past, have been chiefly employed in barefaced scurrilities against those who are in the greatest trust and favour with the queen, with the first and last letters of their names frequently printed, or some periphrasis describing their station, or other innuendoes contrived too plain to be mistaken. The consequence of which is, (and it is natural it should be so) that their long impunity has rendered them still more audacious.

At this time I particularly intend a paper called the *Medley*,* whose indefatigable incessant railings against me I never thought convenient to take notice of, because it would have diverted my design, which I intended to be of public use. Besides, I never yet observed that writer, or those writers, (for it is every way a *Medley*) to argue against any one material point or fact that I had advanced, or make one fair quotation. And after all, I knew very well how soon the world

* A paper which was published regularly in answer to the Examiner, and to which we have already often referred. Mainwaring was the principal writer, but he seems to have had occasional hints from Addison and Steele.

grow weary of controversy. It is plain to me, that three or four hands at least have been joined at times in that worthy composition; but the outlines, as well as the finishing, seem to have been always the work of the same pen, as it is visible from half a score beauties of style inseparable from it. But who these Medlers are, or where the judicious leaders have picked them up, I shall never go about to conjecture; factious rancour, false wit, abandoned scurrility, impudent falsehood, and servile pedantry, having so many fathers, and so few to own them, that curiosity herself would not be at the pains to guess. It is the first time I ever did myself the honour to mention that admirable paper; nor could I imagine any occasion likely to happen that would make it necessary for me to engage with such an adversary. This paper is weekly published, and, as appears by the number, has been so for several months; and is, next to the *Observer*, allowed to be the best production of the party. Last week my printer brought me that of May 7, No. 32. where there are two paragraphs* relating

*The following are the two offensive paragraphs, as to which it is scarce necessary to observe, that the *Examiner* pretends to understand the abuse directed against his own paper, as applicable to the address of the House of Commons to Mr. Harley:

“ In the first place, whenever any body would praise another, all he can say will have no weight or effect, if it be not true or probable. If therefore, for example, my friend should take it into his head to commend a man for having been an instrument of great good to a nation, when in truth that very person had brought that same nation under great difficulties, to say no more; such ill chosen flattery would be of no use or moment, nor add the least credit to the persons so commended. Or if he should take that occasion to revive any false and groundless calumny upon other men, or another party of men, such an instance of im-

to the speaker of the House of Commons, and to Mr Harley, which, as little as I am inclined to engage with such an antagonist, I cannot let pass without failing in my duty to the public: and if those in power will suffer such infamous insinuations to pass with impunity, they act without precedent from any age or country of the world.

potent, but inveterate malice, would make him still appear more vile and contemptible. The reason of all which is, that what he said was neither just, proper, nor real, and therefore must needs want the force of true eloquence, which consists in nothing else but in well representing things as they really are. I therefore advise my friend, before he praises any more of his heroes, to learn the common rules of writing, and particularly to read over and over a certain chapter in Aristotle's first book of Rhetoric, where are given very proper and necessary directions, for praising a man who has done nothing that he ought to be praised for."

"But the ancients did not think it enough for men to speak what was true or probable, they required further, that their orators should be heartily in earnest, and that they should have all those motions and affections in their own minds which they endeavoured to raise in others. He that thinks, says Cicero, to warm others with his eloquence, must first be warm himself. And Quintilian says, We must first be affected ourselves, before we can move others. This made Pliny's panegyric upon Trajan so well received by his hearers, because every body knew the wonderful esteem and affection which he had for the person he commended. and therefore, when he concluded with a prayer to Jupiter, that he would take care of the life and safety of that great and good man, which he said contained in it all other blessings; though the expression was so high, it passed very well with those that heard him, as being agreeable to the known sentiments and affection of the speaker. Whereas, if my friend should be known to bear ill will to another person, or to have an extreme bad opinion of him, or to think him an obstructor of those fine measures he would bring about, and should yet, in one of his panegyrics, pray to God for the continuance of that very person's life, as an invaluable blessing, such a fulsome piece of insincerity would only expose him to shame and derision"—*Medley*, No. 32.

I desire to open this matter, and leave the Whigs themselves to determine upon it. The House of Commons resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the speaker should congratulate Mr Harley's escape and recovery, in the name of the House, upon his first attendance on their service. This is accordingly done, and the speech, together with the Chancellor of the Exchequer's, are printed by order of the House. The author of the *Medley* takes this speech to task the very next week after it is published, telling us in the aforesaid paper, that the speaker's commending Mr Harley for being an instrument of great good to the nation, was ill chosen flattery; because Mr Harley had brought the nation under great difficulties, to say no more. He says, that when the speaker tells Mr Hailey, that Providence has wonderfully preserved him from some unparalleled attempts, (for that the *Medley* alludes to) he only revives a false and groundless calumny upon other men; which is an instance of impotent, but inveterate malice, that makes him the speaker] still appear more vile and contemptible. This is an extract from his first paragraph. In the next, this writer says, that the speaker's praying to God for the continuance of Mr Harley's life, as an invaluable blessing, was a fulsome piece of insincerity, which exposes him to shame and derision: because he is known to bear ill will to Mr Harley, to have an extreme bad opinion of him, and to think him an obstructor of those fine measures he would bring about.

I now appeal to the Whigs themselves, whether a great minister of state, in high favour with the queen, and a speaker of the House of Commons, were ever publicly treated after so extraordinary a manner, in the most licentious times?

For this is not a clandestine libel stolen into the world, but openly printed and sold with the bookseller's name and place of abode at the bottom. And the juncture is admirable, when Mr Hailey is generally believed upon the very point to be made an earl, and promoted to the most important station of the kingdom ; nay, the very marks of esteem he has so lately received, from the whole representative body of the people, are called ill-chosen flattery, and a fulsome piece of insincerity, exposing the donors to shame and derision.

Does this intrepid writer think he has sufficiently disguised the matter, by that stale artifice of altering the story, and putting it as a supposed case ? Did any man, who ever saw the congratulatory speech, read either of those paragraphs in the Medley, without interpreting them just as I have done ? will the author declare upon his great sincerity, that he never had any such meaning ? is it enough, that a jury at Westminster-hall would perhaps not find him guilty of defaming the speaker and Mr Hailey in that paper ? which, however, I am much in doubt of too ; and must think the law very defective, if the reputation of such persons must lie at the mercy of such pens. I do not remember to have seen any libel, supposed to be writ with caution and double meaning in order to prevent prosecution, delivered under so thin a cover, or so unartificially made up, as this, whether it were from an apprehension of his readers' dulness, or an effect of his own. He has transcribed the very phrases of the speaker, and put them in a different character, for fear they might pass unobserved, and prevent all possibility of being mistaken. I shall be pleased to see him have recourse to the old evasion,

and say, that I who make the application am chargeable with the abuse; let any reader of either party be judge. But I cannot forbear asserting as my opinion, that for a ministry to endure such open calumny, without calling the author to account, is next to deserving it. And this is an omission I venture to charge upon the present ministry, who are too apt to despise little things, which, however, have not always little consequences.

When this paper was first undertaken, one design among others was, to examine some of those writings so frequently published with an evil tendency either to religion or government; but I was long diverted by other inquiries, which I thought more immediately necessary; to animadvert upon men's actions, rather than their speculations; to show the necessity there was of changing the ministry, that our constitution in church and state might be preserved; to expose some dangerous principles and practices under the former administration; and prove by many instances, that those, who are now at the helm, are entirely in the true interest of prince and people. This I may modestly hope has in some measure been already done, sufficient to answer the end proposed, which was, to inform the ignorant, and those at a distance; and to convince such as are engaged in party from no other motive than that of conscience. I know not whether I shall have any appetite to continue this work much longer; if I do, perhaps some time may be spent in exposing and overturning the false reasonings of those, who engage their pens on the other side, without losing time in vindicating myself against their scurrilities, much less in retorting them. Of

this sort there is a certain humble companion, a French *maitre des langues*,* who every month publishes an extract from votes, news papers, speeches, and proclamations, larded with some insipid remarks of his own, which he calls, "The Political State of Great Britain."† This ingeni-

* Abel Boyer.

† Abel Boyer, (the compiler of a French grammar and dictionary,) conducted the monthly paper here mentioned, and, skimming the most important intelligence which its numbers contained, extracted from them once a year his *Annals of Queen Anne*, a sort of annual chronicle. The passage which Swift censures, follows an account of the attempted assassination of Harley, written expressly to supply the deficiencies, and correct the mis-statements of the narrative of the same event published by Mrs Manly, under the inspection of Swift himself, and, as if this had not been sufficient provocation, he adds the following attack upon the *Examiner*. "However, it is very observable, that the hot sticklers for the High-Church party, both in their private discourses and in some public papers, did not fail laying hold on this occasion to asperse their antagonists the Whigs; and, if not directly to involve them in a plot for which there was not indeed the least colour, at least, by forced and strained insinuations, to throw upon them part of the odium of Guiscard's villainy, though it is most certain the same was equally detested and abhorred by both parties, and, to do every body justice, even by the Roman Catholics themselves; nevertheless one of the Tory writers, shall I call him, or rather libellers, one who presumptuously sets up for an *EXAMINER*, who, in order, as he fondly expects, to make his court to some men in power, with equal insolence and malice, makes it his weekly business to slander the moderate party, who, without the least provocation, brandishes his virulent pen against the best men, and pretends to ridicule those very authors from whom he may still learn, if not the elements of speech, at least good manners, one, in short, whom I am forced to describe, because he has hitherto concealed his own name, how free soever he has been with that of others" Here Abel comes to a full stop, his wrath making him so far forget his *elements of speech*, as to neglect finding a verb to those repeated nominatives, until far advanced in the next period. *Political State of England for April, 1710-11.*

ous piece, he tells us himself, is constantly translated into French, and printed in Holland, where the Dutch, no doubt, conceive most noble sentiments of us, conveyed through such a vehicle. It is observable in his account for April, that the vanity, so predominant in many of his nation, has made him more concerned for the honour of Guiscard, than the safety of Mr Harley. And for fear we should think the worse of his country upon that assassin's account, he tells us there have been more murders, parricides, and villainies committed in England, than any other part of the world.* I cannot imagine how an illiterate foreigner, who is neither master of our language, nor indeed of common sense, and who is devoted to a faction, I suppose for no other reason but his having more Whig customers than Tories, should take it into his head to write politic tracts of our affairs. But I presume, he builds upon the foundation of having been called to an account for his insolence in one of his monthly former productions; which is a method that seldom fails of giving some vogue to the foolishlest com-

* The patriotism of Boyer seems to have felt Swift's national reflections upon France, as much as his imputations upon the Whigs, or, as Abel calls them, the moderate party. "As to the imputation of villainous assassinations which the Examiner charges so home on the French nation, I am heartily sorry he has given them so fair an opportunity to retort the unfair and unjust argument, from particulars to generals for, without mentioning Felton, whose crime this writer has endeavoured to extenuate, no foreign records can afford a greater number of murders, parricides, and, to use the Examiner's expression, solid villainies, than our English history." *Political State of England*.

position. * If such a work must be done, I wish some tolerable hand would undertake it, and that we would not suffer a little whiffling Frenchman, to neglect his trade of teaching his language to our children, and presume to instruct foreigners in our politics.

No. XLII.

THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1711.

*Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædesque labentes deorum.*

You of your father's crimes the guilt shall bear,
Unless the sacred temples you repair.

SEVERAL letters have been lately sent me desiring I would make honourable mention of the pious design of building fifty churches in several parts of London and Westminster, where they are most wanted, occasioned by an address of the convocation to the queen, and recommended by

* I know not how Boyer fell first under the grasp of power, but he owed a second distinction of this kind to Swift. "One Boyer, a French dog, has abused me in a pamphlet, and I have got him into a messenger's hands, and the Secretary promises me to swinge him.—I must make that rogue an example, for warning to others." *Journal to Stella*, 16 Oct 1711. See Boyer's own account of the prosecution against him, in a note on the passage.

her majesty to the House of Commons ; who immediately promised they would enable her to accomplish so excellent a design, and are now preparing a bill accordingly. I thought to have deferred any notice of this important affair until the end of this session ; at which time, I proposed to deliver a particular account of the great and useful things, already performed by this present parliament. But, in compliance to those who give themselves the trouble of advising me, and partly convinced by the reasons they offer, I am content to bestow a paper upon a subject that indeed so well deserves it.

The clergy, and whoever else have a true concern for the constitution of the church, cannot but be highly pleased with one prospect in this new scene of public affairs. They may very well remember the time, when every session of parliament was like a cloud hanging over their heads ; and if it happened to pass without bursting into some storm upon the church, we thanked God, and thought it a happy escape until the next meeting ; upon which we resumed our secret apprehensions, although we were not allowed to believe any danger. Things are now altered ; the parliament takes the necessities of the church into consideration, receives the proposals of the clergy met in convocation, and amid all the exigencies of a long expensive war, and under the pressure of heavy debts, finds a supply for erecting fifty edifices for the service of God. And it appears by the address of the Commons to her majesty upon this occasion, (wherein they discovered a true spirit of religion,) that applying the money granted to accomplish so excellent a design, would, in their opinion, be the most effectual way of carrying on the war ; that it would,

(to use their own words,) be a means of drawing down blessings on her majesty's undertakings, as it adds to the number of those places, where the prayers of her devout and faithful subjects will be daily offered up to God, for the prosperity of her government at home, and the success of her arms abroad. *

I am sometimes hoping, that we are not naturally so bad a people, as we have appeared for some years past. Faction, in order to support itself, is generally forced to make use of such abominable instruments, that, as long as it prevails, the genius of a nation is overpressed, and cannot appear to exert itself; but, when that is broken and suppressed, when things return to the old course, mankind will naturally fall to act from principles of reason and religion. The Romans, upon a great victory or escape from public danger, frequently built a temple in honour of some god, to whose peculiar favour they imputed their success or delivery; and sometimes the general did the like, at his own expense, to acquit himself of some pious vow he had made. How little of any thing resembling this has been done by us after all our victories! And perhaps,

* The expressions of the address of thanks in answer to the queen's message, requesting the Commons to make provision for building fifty new churches in London and Westminster, are these: "Neither the long expensive war in which we are engaged, nor the pressure of heavy debts under which we labour, shall hinder us from granting to your majesty whatever is necessary to accomplish so excellent a design, which we hope may be a means of drawing down blessings from heaven on all your majesty's other undertakings, as it adds to the number of those places, where the prayers of your devout and faithful subjects will be daily offered up to God, for the prosperity of your majesty's government at home, and the success of your arms abroad."

for that reason among others, they have turned to so little account. But what could we expect? We acted all along as if we believed nothing of a God, or his providence, and therefore it was consistent to offer up our edifices only to those, whom we looked upon as givers of all victory, in his stead.

I have computed that fifty churches may be built, by a medium, at six thousand pounds for a church, which is somewhat under the price of a subject's palace, yet perhaps the care of above two hundred thousand souls, with the benefit of their prayers for the prosperity of their queen and country, may be almost put in the balance with the domestic convenience, or even magnificence, of any subject whatsoever.

Sir William Petty, who, under the name of captain Graunt, published some observations upon the bills of mortality above five years after the Restoration, tells us, the parishes in London were even then so unequally divided, that some were two hundred times larger than others. Since that time, the increase of trade, the frequency of parliaments, the desire of living in the metropolis, together with that genius for building which began after the fire, and has ever since continued, have prodigiously enlarged this town on all sides where it was capable of increase; and those tracts of land built into streets, have generally continued of the same parish they belonged to while they lay in fields, so that the care of about thirty thousand souls has been sometimes committed to one minister, whose church would hardly contain the twentieth part of his flock, neither, I think, was any family in those parishes obliged to pay above a groat a year to their spiritual pastor. Some few of those parishes have been since divided, in others

were erected chapels of ease, where a preacher is maintained by general contribution. Such poor shifts and expedients, to the infinite shame and scandal of so vast and flourishing a city, have been thought sufficient for the service of God and religion, as if they were circumstances wholly indifferent.

This defect, among other consequences of it, has made schism a sort of necessary evil; there being at least three hundred thousand inhabitants in this town, whom the churches would not be able to contain, if the people were ever so well disposed: and in a city, not overstocked with zeal, the only way to preserve any degree of religion, is to make all attendance upon the duties of it as easy and cheap as possible: whereas, on the contrary, in the larger parishes, the press is so great, and the pew-keepers' tax so exorbitant, that those who love to save trouble and money, either stay at home, or retire to the conventicles. I believe there are few examples, in any christian country, of so great a neglect of religion; and the dissenting teachers have made their advantage largely by it, sowing tares among the wheat while men slept, being much more expert at procuring contributions, which is a trade they are bred up in, than men of a liberal education.

And, to say truth, the way practised by several parishes in and about this town, of maintaining their clergy by voluntary subscriptions, is not only an indignity to the character, but has many pernicious consequences attending it; such a precarious dependance subjecting a clergyman, who has not more than ordinary spirit and resolution, to many inconveniencies, which are obvious to imagine; but this defect will no doubt be remedied by the wisdom and piety of the present parliament, and a tax laid upon every house in a

parish for the support of their pastor. Neither indeed can it be conceived, why a house, whose purchase is not reckoned above one third less than land of the same yearly rent, should not pay a twentieth part annually (which is half tithe) to the support of the minister. One thing I could wish, that in fixing the maintenance to the several ministers in these new intended parishes, no determinate sum of money may be named; which, in all perpetuities, ought by any means to be avoided; but rather a tax in proportion to the rent of each house, although it be but a twentieth, or even a thirtieth part. The contrary of this, I am told, was done in several parishes of the city after the fire, where the incumbent and his successors were to receive for ever a certain sum; for example, one or two hundred pounds a year. But the lawgivers did not consider, that what we call at present one hundred pounds, will not, in process of time, have the intrinsic value of twenty; as twenty pounds now are hardly equal to forty shillings, three hundred years ago. There are a thousand instances of this all over England, in reserved rents applied to hospitals, in old chiefries, and even among the clergy themselves, in those payments which, I think, they call a *modus*

As no prince had ever better dispositions than her present majesty for the advancement of true religion, so there never was any age that produced greater occasions to employ them on. It is an unspeakable misfortune, that any design of so excellent a queen should be checked by the necessities of a long and ruinous war, which the folly or corruption of modern politicians have involved us in, against all the maxims whereby our country flourished so many hundred years; else, her majesty's care of religion would certainly have reached even to her American plantations.

Those noble countries, stocked by numbers from hence, whereof too many are in no very great reputation for faith or morals, will be a perpetual reproach to us, until some better care be taken for cultivating christianity among them. If the governors of those several colonies were obliged, at certain times, to transmit an exact representation of the state of religion in their several districts, and the legislature here would, in a time of leisure, take that affair under their consideration, it might be perfected with little difficulty, and be a great addition to the glories of her majesty's reign.

But, to wave farther speculations upon so remote a scene, while we have subjects enough to employ them on at home, it is to be hoped the clergy will not let slip any proper opportunity of improving the pious dispositions of the queen and kingdom, for the advantage of the church; when, by the example of times past, they consider how rarely such conjunctures are likely to happen. What if some method were thought on toward the repairing of churches, for which there is likely to be too frequent occasion, those ancient Gothic structures throughout this kingdom going every year to decay? That expedient of repairing or rebuilding them by charitable collections, seems in my opinion not very suitable either to the dignity and usefulness of the work, or to the honour of our country, since it might be so easily done, with very little charge to the public, in a much more decent and honourable manner, while parliaments are so frequently called. But these, and other regulations, must be left to a time of peace, which I shall humbly presume to wish may soon be our share, however offensive it may be to any, either abroad or at home, who are gainers by the war.

No. XLIII

THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1711.

Scilicet, ut posses curvo dignoscere rectum.

That hence you may distinguish right from wrong.

HAVING been forced in my papers to use the cant words of Whig and Tory, which have so often varied their significations for twenty years past, I think it necessary to say something of the several changes those two terms have undergone since that period; and then to tell the reader what I have always understood by each of them, since I undertook this work. I reckon that these sorts of concerted appellations are usually invented by the vulgar; who, not troubling themselves to examine thoroughly the merits of a cause, are consequently the most violent partisans of what they espouse, and in their quarrels usually proceed to their beloved argument of calling names, until at length they light upon one which is sure to stick and in time, each party grows proud of that appellation, which their adversaries at first intended for a reproach. Of this kind were the Pisani and Veneti,* the Guelfs and Ghiblins,† Huguenots and Papists, Roundheads and Cavaliers, with many others of ancient and modern date. Among us, of late, there seems to have been a barrenness of invention in this point; the words Whig and Tory, although they be not much above thirty years old, having been press-

* In the lower ages of the empire.

† In Florence.

ed to the service of many successions of parties, with very different ideas fastened to them. This distinction, I think, began toward the latter part of King Charles the Second's reign,* was dropped during that of his successor, and then revived at the Revolution; since which it has perpetually flourished, although applied to very different kinds of principles and persons. In that convention of Lords and Commons, some of both Houses were for a regency to the Prince of Orange, with a reservation of style and title to the absent king, which should be made use of in all public acts: others, when they were brought to allow the throne vacant, thought the succession should immediately go to the next heir, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, as if the last king were actually dead. And although the dissenting lords (in whose House the chief opposition was) did at last yield both those points, took the oaths to the new king, and, many of them, employments, yet they were looked upon with an evil eye, by the warm zealots of the other side; neither did the court ever heartily favour any of them, although some of them were of the most eminent for abilities and virtue, and served that prince, both in his councils and

* *Whig-a-more* was a nick-name given to the western peasantry of Scotland, from their using the words frequently in driving strings of horses. Hence, as connected with calvinistical principles in religion, and republican doctrines in policy, it was given as a term of reproach to the opposition party in the latter years of Charles II. These retorted upon the courtiers the word *Tory*, signifying an Irish freebooter, and particularly applicable to the Roman Catholic followers of the Duke of York. At length, both parties acknowledged, and prided themselves on the distinctions, originally meant to convey reproach and disgrace.

his army, with untainted faith. It was apprehended at the same time, and perhaps it might have been true, that many of the clergy would have been better pleased with the scheme of a regency, or at least an uninterrupted lineal succession, for the sake of those whose consciences were truly scrupulous; and they thought there were some circumstances in the case of the deprived bishops, that looked a little hard, or at least deserved commiseration.

These, and other the like reflections, did, as I conceive, revive the denominations of Whig and Tory.

Some time after the Revolution, the distinction of high and low church came in, which was raised by the dissenters, in order to break the church party by dividing the members into high and low; and the opinions raised, that the high joined with the papists, inclined the low to fall in with the dissenters.

And here I shall take leave to produce some principles, which, in the several periods of the late reign, served to denote a man of one or the other party. To be against a standing army in time of peace, was all high-church, Tory, and Tanti-vy; to differ from a majority of bishops, was the same. To raise the prerogative above law for serving a turn, was low-church and Whig. The opinion of the majority in the House of Commons, especially of the country party or landed interest, was high-flying and rank Tory. To exalt the king's supremacy beyond all precedent, was low-church, Whiggish, and moderate. To make the least doubt of the pretended prince's being suppositious, and a tiler's son, was in their phrase top and topgallant, and perfect jacobitism. To resume the most exorbitant grants that were

ever given to a set of profligate favourites, and apply them to the public, was the very quintessence of Toryism; notwithstanding those grants were known to be acquired by sacrificing the honour and the wealth of England.

In most of these principles, the two parties seem to have shifted opinions, since their institution under King Charles the Second, and indeed to have gone very different from what was expected from each, even at the time of the Revolution. But as to that concerning the pretender, the Whigs have so far renounced it, that they are grown the great advocates for his legitimacy; which gives me the opportunity of vindicating a noble duke, who was accused of a blunder in the House, when, upon a certain lord's mentioning the pretended prince, his grace told the lords he must be plain with them, and call that person, not the pretended prince, but the pretended impostor; which was so far from a blunder in that polite lord, as his ill-willers give out, that it was only a refined way of delivering the avowed sentiments of his whole party.

But to return, this was the state of principles, when the queen came to the crown; some time after which, it pleased certain great persons, who had been all their lives in the altitude of Tory profession, to enter into a treaty with the Whigs, from whom they could get better terms than from their old friends, who began to be resty, and would not allow monopolies of power and favour, nor consent to carry on the war entirely at the expence of this nation, that they might have pensions from abroad, while another people, more immediately concerned in the war, traded with the enemy as in times of peace; whereas the other party, whose case appeared then as

desperate, was ready to yield to any conditions that would bring them into play. And I cannot help affirming, that this nation was made a sacrifice to the unmeasurable appetite of power and wealth in a very few, that shall be nameless, who, in every step they made, acted directly against what they had always professed. And if his royal highness the prince* had died some years sooner, (who was a perpetual check in their career,) it is dreadful to think how far they might have proceeded.

Since that time, the bulk of the Whigs appears rather to be linked to a certain set of persons, than any certain set of principles; so that, if I were to define a member of that party, I should say, he was one who believed in the late ministry. And therefore, whatever I have affirmed of Whigs in any of these papers, or objected against them, ought to be understood, either of those who were partisans of the late men in power, and privy to their designs; or such, who joined with them from a hatred to our monarchy and church, as unbelievers and dissenters of all sizes; or men in office, who had been guilty of much corruption, and dreaded a change, which would not only put a stop to farther abuses for the future, but might perhaps introduce examinations of what was past; or those, who had been too highly obliged to quit their supporters with any common decency; or lastly, the money-traders, who could never hope to make their markets so well of premiums, and exorbitant interest, and high remittances, under any other administration.

* Prince George of Denmark.

Under these heads may be reduced the whole body of those, whom I have all along understood for Whigs ; for I do not include within this number any of those, who have been misled by ignorance, or seduced by plausible pretences, to think better of that sort of men than they deserve, and to apprehend mighty danger from their disgrace : because I believe the greatest part of such well-meaning people are now thoroughly converted.

And indeed it must be allowed, that the two fantastic names of Whig and Tory, have, at present, very little relation to those opinions, which were at first thought to distinguish them. Whoever formerly professed himself to approve the Revolution, to be against the pretender, to justify the succession in the house of Hanover, to think the British monarchy not absolute, but limited by laws which the executive power could not dispense with, and to allow an indulgence to scrupulous consciences ; such man was content to be called a Whig. On the other side, whoever asserted the queen's hereditary right, that the persons of princes were sacred, their lawful authority not to be resisted on any pretence ; nor even their usurpations, without the most extreme necessity ; that breaches in the succession were highly dangerous, that schism was a great evil, both in itself and its consequences ; that the ruin of the church would probably be attended with that of the state ; that no power should be trusted with those who are not of the established religion, such a man was usually called a Tory. Now although the opinions of both these are very consistent, and I really think are maintained at present by a great majority of the kingdom, yet according as men apprehend the danger greater,

either from the pretender and his party, or from the violence and cunning of other enemies to the constitution, so their common discourses and reasonings turn either to the first, or second set of these opinions, I have mentioned; and they are consequently styled either Whigs or Tories. Which is as if two brothers apprehended their house would be set upon, but disagreed about the place whence they thought the robbers would come, and therefore would go on different sides to defend it, they must needs weaken and expose themselves by such a separation; and so did we, only our case was worse; for, in order to keep off a weak remote enemy, from whom we could not suddenly apprehend any danger, we took a nearer and a stronger one into the house. I make no comparison at all between the two enemies; popery and slavery are without doubt the greatest and most dreadful of any; but I may venture to affirm, that the fears of these have not, at least since the Revolution, been so close and pressing upon us, as that from another faction, excepting only one short period, when the leaders of that very faction invited the abdicating king to return; of which I have formerly taken notice.

Having thus declared what sort of persons I have always meant under the denomination of Whigs, it will be easy to show whom I understand by Tories. Such, whose principles in church and state are what I have above related; whose actions are derived thence, and who have no attachment to any set of ministers, farther than as they are friends to the constitution in all its parts; but will do their utmost to save their prince and country, whoever be at the helm.

By these descriptions of Whig and Tory, I am sensible those names are given to several persons

very undeservedly; and that many a man is called by one or the other, who has not the least title to the blame or praise I have bestowed on each of them, throughout my papers.

No. XLIV.

THURSDAY, JUNE 7, 1711.

Magna vis est, magnum nomen, unum et idem sentientis senatus.

Great is the name and authority of a senate, in which unanimity prevails.

WHOEVER calls to mind the clamour and the calumny, the artificial fears and jealousies, the shameful misrepresentation of persons and of things, that were raised and spread by the leaders and instruments of a certain party, upon the change of the last ministry, and dissolution of the parliament; if he be a true lover of his country, must feel a mighty pleasure, although mixed with some indignation, to see the wishes, the conjectures, the endeavours, of an inveterate faction, entirely disappointed, and this important period wholly spent in restoring the prerogative of the prince, and liberty to the subject; in reforming past abuses, and preventing future; supplying old deficiencies, providing for debts, restoring the clergy to their rights, and taking care of the necessities of the church, and all this, unattended with any of those misfortunes which some men hoped for, while they pretended to fear.

For my own part, I must confess the difficulties appeared so great to me, from such a noise and show of opposition, that I thought nothing but the absolute necessity of affairs, could ever justify so daring an attempt. But a wise and good prince, at the head of an able ministry, and of a senate freely chosen, all united to pursue the true interest of their country, is a power against which the little inferior politics of any faction will be able to make no long resistance. To this we may add one additional strength, which, in the opinion of our adversaries, is the greatest and justest of any; I mean the *vox populi*, so indisputably declarative on the same side. I am apt to believe, when these discarded politicians begin seriously to consider all this, they will think it proper to give out, and reserve their wisdom for some more convenient juncture.

It is pleasant enough to observe, that those who were the chief instruments of raising the noise, who started fears, bespoke dangers, and formed ominous prognostics, in order to scare the allies, to spurn the French, and fright ignorant people at home, made use of those very opinions themselves had broached, for arguments to prove that the change of ministers was dangerous and unseasonable. But if a house be swept, the more occasion there is for such a work, the more dust it will raise; if it be going to ruin, the repairs, however necessary, will make a noise, and disturb the neighbourhood a while. And as to the rejoicings made in France, if it be true that they had any, upon the news of those alterations among us; their joy was grounded upon the same hopes with that of the Whigs, who comforted themselves, that the change of ministry and parliament would infallibly put us all into confusion, increase our di-

visions, and destroy our credit, wherein I suppose by this time they are equally undeceived.

But this long session being in a manner ended, which several circumstances, and one accident altogether unforeseen, have drawn out beyond the usual time ; it may be some small piece of justice to so excellent an assembly, barely to mention a few of those great things they have done, for the service of their queen and country, which I shall take notice of just as they come to my memory.

The credit of the nation began mightily to suffer by a discount upon exchequer bills, which have been generally reckoned the surest and most sacred of all securities. The present lord-treasurer, then a member of the House of Commons, proposed a method, which was immediately complied with, of raising them to a par with species ; and so they have ever since continued.

The British colonies of Nevis and St Christopher's had been miserably plundered by the French, their houses burnt, their plantations destroyed, and many of the inhabitants carried away prisoners ; they had often, for some years past, applied in vain for relief from hence ; until the present parliament, considering their condition as a case of justice and mercy, voted them one hundred thousand pounds by way of recompense, in some manner, for their sufferings.

Some persons, whom the voice of the nation authorises me to call her enemies, taking advantage of the general naturalization act, had invited over a great number of foreigners of all religions, under the name of Palatines, who understood no trade or handicraft, yet rather chose to beg than labour ; who, beside infesting our streets, bred contagious diseases, by which we lost

in natives thrice the number of what we gained in foreigners.* The House of Commons, as a remedy against this evil, brought in a bill for repealing that act of general naturalization; which, to the surprise of most people, was rejected by the Lords. And upon this occasion I must allow myself to have been justly rebuked by one of my weekly monitors, for pretending, in a former paper, to hope that law would be repealed, † wherein the commons being disappointed, took care however to send many of the Palatines away, and

* The exactions of the French armies in the Palatinate, in the year 1709, drove from their habitations six or seven thousand persons of all descriptions and professions, who came into Holland with a view of emigrating to British America. It was never accurately ascertained, with what view, or by whose persuasions, their course was changed, but, by direction from the English ministers, they were furnished with shipping to come to England. In the settlements, they would have been a valuable colony; but in the vicinity of London, this huge accession to the poor of the metropolis was a burthen and a nuisance. They were encamped on Blackheath, near Greenwich, where, so soon as their countrymen heard that they were supported by British charity, the number of the fugitives began to increase by recruits from the Continent, till government prohibited further importation. A general naturalization act, past in favour of the French protestants, greatly encouraged this influx of strangers. This matter was enquired into by the Toiy parliament, who voted, that the bringing over the Palatines was an oppression on the nation, and a waste of the public money, and that he who advised it was an enemy to his country. The unfortunate fugitives had been already dispersed; some of them to North America, some to Ireland, and some through Britain. The pretence alleged for the vote against them, was the apprehension expressed by the guardians of the poor in several parishes, that they might introduce contagious diseases; but the real reason was a wish to gratify the prejudice of the common people against foreigners, and to diminish the number of dissenters.

† The bill for repeal of that act was, however, again brought in, and passed next session in both Houses.

to represent their being invited over as a pernicious counsel

The qualification-bill, incapacitating all men to serve in parliament, who have not some estate in land, ' either in possession or certain reversion, is perhaps the greatest security that ever was contrived for preserving the constitution, which otherwise might in a little time lie wholly at the mercy of the monied interest. And since much the greatest part of the taxes is paid either immediately from land, or from its productions, it is but common justice, that those, who are the proprietors, should appoint what portion of it ought to go to the support of the public, otherwise, the engrossers of money would be apt to lay heavy loads on others, which themselves never touch with one of their fingers.

The public debts were so prodigiously increased by the negligence and corruption of those who had been managers of the revenue, that the late ministers, like careless men who run out their fortunes, were so far from any thoughts of payment, that they had not the courage to state or compute them. The parliament found, that thirty-five millions had never been accounted for; and that the debt on the navy, wholly unprovided for, amounted to nine millions. The late chancellor of the exchequer †, suitable to his transcendent genius for public affairs, proposed a fund, to be security for that immense debt, which is now confirmed by a law, and is likely to prove the greatest restoration and establishment of the kingdom's

* Namely, 600l. yearly for a knight of the shire, and 300l. for a Burgess. *

† Earl of Oxford.

credit. Not content with this, the legislature has appointed commissioners of accounts to inspect into past mismanagements of the public money, and prevent them for the future.

I have in a former paper mentioned the act for building fifty new churches in London and Westminster, with a fund appropriated for that pious and noble work. But while I am mentioning acts of piety, it would be unjust to conceal my lord high treasurer's concern for religion, which has extended even to another kingdom his lordship having some months ago obtained of her majesty the first fruits and tenths to the clergy of Ireland, as he is known to have before done to that reverend body here.

The act for carrying on a trade to the South-sea, proposed by the same great person, whose thoughts are perpetually employed, and ever with success, on the good of his country, will, in all probability, if duly executed, be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, and an everlasting honour to the present parliament.

I might go on farther, and mention that seasonable law against excessive gaming; and putting a stop to that scandalous fraud of false musters in the guards,* the diligent and effectual inquiry made by the commons into several gross abuses. I might produce many instances of their impartial justice in deciding controverted elections, against former example, and great provocations

* Which had been formerly very numerous, the officers conniving at tradesmen, and others, who enlisted merely for the purpose of securing their persons from their creditors, and, as they did no duty, were contented that the officers should draw their pay. These inefficient recruits were called *Romans*, because they served their country without pay.

to retaliate. I might show their cheerful readiness in granting such vast supplies; their great unanimity, not to be broken by all the arts of a malicious and cunning faction; their unfeigned duty to the queen; and lastly, that representation made to her majesty from the House of Commons, discovering such a spirit and disposition in that noble assembly to redress all those evils, which a long mal-administration had brought upon us.

It is probable, that, trusting only to my memory, I may have omitted many things of great importance; neither do I pretend farther in the compass of this paper, than to give the world some general, however imperfect, idea, how worthily this great assembly has discharged the trust of those who so freely chose them; and what we may reasonably hope and expect from the piety, courage, wisdom, and loyalty, of such excellent patriots, in a time so fruitful of occasions to exert the greatest abilities.

And now I conceive the main design I had in writing these papers is fully executed. A great majority of the nation is at length thoroughly convinced, that the queen proceeded with the highest wisdom in changing her ministry and parliament; that under a former administration the greatest abuses of all kinds were committed, and the most dangerous attempts against the constitution for some time intended. The whole kingdom finds the present persons in power, directly and openly pursuing the true service of their queen and country; and to be such, whom their most bitter enemies cannot tax with bribery, covetousness, ambition, pride, insolence, or any pernicious principles in religion or government.

For my own particular, those little barking curs, which have so constantly pursued me, I take to be of no farther consequence to what I have writ

ten, than the scoffing slaves of old, placed behind the chariot to put the general in mind of his mortality; which was but a thing of form, and made no stop or disturbance in the show. However, if those perpetual snarlers against me had the same design, I must own they have effectually compassed it; since nothing can well be more mortifying than to reflect, that I am of the same species with creatures, capable of uttering so much scurrility, dulness, falsehood, and impertinence, to the scandal and disgrace of human nature.

No. XIV.

THURSDAY, JUNE 14, 1711.

‘Melius non tangere clamo.

WHEN a general has conquered an army, and reduced a country to obedience, he often finds it necessary to send out small bodies, in order to take in petty castles and forts, and beat little straggling parties, which are otherwise apt to make head, and infest the neighbourhood. This case exactly resembles mine. I count the main body of the Whigs entirely subdued; at least, till they appear with new reinforcements, I shall reckon them as such; and therefore do now find myself at leisure to examine inferior abuses. The business I have left is, to fall on those wretches that will be still keeping the war on foot, when they have no country to defend, no forces to bring into the field, nor any thing remaining, but their bare good will toward faction and mischief. I mean the present set of writers, whom I have suffe-

ed, without molestation, so long to molest the town. Were there not a concurrence from prejudice, party, weak understanding, and misrepresentation, I should think them too inconsiderable in themselves to deserve correction. But as my endeavour has been to expose the gross impositions of the fallen party, I will give a taste, in the following petition, of the sincerity of these their factors, to show how little those writers for the Whigs were guided by conscience or honour, their business being only to gratify a prevailing interest.

“ To the Right Honourable the present Minister, the humble Petition of the party writers to the late Ministry,

“ HUMBLY SHEWETH,

“ That your petitioners have served their time to the trade of writing pamphlets and weekly papers, in defence of the Whigs, against the church of England, and the christian religion, and her majesty's prerogative, and her title to the crown. That, since the late change of ministry, and meeting of this parliament, the said trade is mightily fallen off, and the call for the said pamphlets and papers much less than formerly, and it is feared, to our farther prejudice, that the Examiner may discontinue writing, whereby some of your petitioners will be brought to utter distress, forasmuch as, through false quotations, noted absurdities, and other legal abuses, many of your petitioners, to their great comfort and support, were enabled to pick up a weekly subsistence out of the said Examiner.

“ That your said poor petitioners did humbly offer your Honours to write in defence of the late

change of ministry and parliament, much cheaper than they did for your predecessors; which your Honours were pleased to refuse.

“ Notwithstanding which offer, your petitioners are under daily apprehension, that your Honours will forbid them to follow the said trade any longer, by which your petitioners, to the number of fourscore, with their wives and families, will inevitably starve, having been bound to no other calling

“ Your petitioners desire your Honours will tenderly consider the premisses, and suffer your said petitioners to continue their trade, (those who set them at work being still willing to employ them, though at lower rates) and your said petitioners will give security to make use of the same stuff, and dress in the same manner, as they always did, and no other And your petitioners,” &c.

A
SHORT CHARACTER
OF
HIS EXCELLENCY
THOMAS EARL OF WHARTON,
LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND,
WITH
AN ACCOUNT OF SOME SMALLER FACTS DURING
HIS GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL NOT BE PUT INTO THE
ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT.

[*London, printed for Wilham Coryton, Bookseller, at the Black Swan,
on Ludgate Hill, 1710.—12mo, Price 4d.*]

A SHORT CHARACTER, &c.

Thomas Lord Wharton was created Earl of Wharton in 1706, and appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland in 1708. He shared in the disgrace of Godolphin's ministry in 1710, and when, in 1714, the clouds which overshadowed Whiggish prosperity had passed away, he was appointed lord privy seal, and advanced to the title of Marquis of Wharton and Malmesbury. In 1715 he died. Wharton was a principal promoter of the Revolution, and is said to have been the author of the popular ballad of *Lillibulero*, with which he boasted to have sung James II. out of his three kingdoms. His eloquence, his sagacity, his courage, above all, his staunch adherence to Whig principles, were admitted by the leaders of his party as extenuations of his abandoned and open profligacy. "If ever," says Lord Shaftesbury, "I expected any public good where virtue was wholly sunk, 'twas in his character, the most mysterious of any, in my account, for this reason. But I have seen many proofs of this monstrous compound in him, of the very best, and the very worst." * And in another letter to the same friend, he thus expresses himself "Lord Wharton indeed is as true as steel; but as little partiality as I have for him, and as ill an opinion of his private life and principles, I fancy his good understanding will make him shew himself a better lord-lieutenant than is expected."

Swift entertained a rooted hatred to this nobleman, not only on account of his low-church principles and contempt of the clergy, but in consequence of personal neglect. When Wharton was named lieutenant of Ireland, Swift then in London, and in favour with many of the administration, was commissioned by the clergy of Ireland, to solicit his interest for remission of the twentieth parts and first-fruits due from that kingdom. It is even said, that Swift expected from this nobleman an appointment as his chaplain. Lord Wharton received both the petition and the intercession with great coldness, nor could Lord Somers, at a second interview, bring them to a better understanding, and finally, using the pretence

* Letter to Lord Molesworth in 1709.

of some dispute with his chaplain as an affront to himself, the lord-lieutenant reported it as such to the court, whereupon the convocation was prorogued, and all thoughts of the remission put an end to for the time. This failure, which, in some degree, lessened Swift's personal consequence, and at all events offended his zeal for his order, was not to be forgiven. Being, moreover, as our author sarcastically expresses, "a presbyterian in politics, and an atheist in religion," Lord Wharton shewed a great inclination to remove the sacramental test in Ireland, so far as dissenters were concerned. This was another subject of offence to Swift, who published a formal defence of the test in a "Letter to a Member of Parliament." Thus heartily irritated, our author shunned all intercourse with Lord Wharton during his lieutenancy, although, when the close of his power was approaching, that wily statesman affected to load him with caresses, in order to render him suspicious to his clerical friends, and the Tories in general.

Such is our author's statement of his quarrel with Lord Wharton. But the Whigs ascribed his enmity to disappointed ambition; and affirmed as the cause, that when Somers introduced Swift to Wharton as a fit person to be his chaplain, the latter, alluding to Swift's supposed licentious opinions on religion, replied, "We must not encourage these fellows; we have not character enough ourselves." a sarcasm which Swift never forgot, or forgave.

So soon as Swift had drawn his pen in defence of the new ministers, he failed not to avenge himself for the supercilious contempt and insidious caresses of Lord Wharton. The late lord-lieutenant of Ireland was depicted in the *Examiner*, No. XIV. under the character of Verres, the infamous Proconsul of Sicily. But the vengeance of Swift was not satisfied even with that diatribe; for about the same time he was preparing for press the character which follows. He announces the publication to Stella in the following manner.

Journal, dated Nov. 25, 1710. "Here is a damned libellous pamphlet come out against Lord Wharton, giving the character first, and then telling some of his actions, the character is very well, but the facts indifferent. It has been sent by dozens to several gentlemen's lodgings, and I had one or two of them; but nobody knows the author or printer." Dec. 23, he adds, "The character is here reckoned admirable, but most of the facts are trifles. It was first printed privately here, and then some bold cur ventured to do it publicly, and sold two thousand in two days; who the author is, must remain uncertain. Do you pretend to know, impudence! how durst you think so?"

It is difficult to ascertain what Swift meant by saying, that the facts are indifferent, or trifles, unless it was, that, infamous as they

make my Lord Wharton, they hardly amounted to the grounds of an impeachment.

Archbishop King, whether in pure simplicity, or, as is more likely, suspecting the true author, and willing to put an affront on him, which he could hardly resent, expresses himself in a letter to Swift very severely on the subject of this satire "We have published here a character of the Earl of Wharton, late lord-lieutenant of Ireland. I have so much charity and justice, as to condemn all such proceedings. If a governor behave himself ill, let him be complained of and punished, but to wound a man thus in the dark," * * * This censure certainly tended to alienate Swift from the learned primate.

A

SHORT CHARACTER

OR

HIS EXCELLENCY

THOMAS, EARL OF WHARTON,

LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.



London, Aug. 30, 1710.

THE kingdom of Ireland being governed by deputation from hence, its annals, since the English establishment, are usually digested under the heads of several governors. but the affairs and events of that island, for some years past, have been either so insignificant, or so annexed to those of England, that they have not furnished matter of any great importance to history. The share of honour, which gentlemen from thence have had by their conduct and employments in the army, turns all to the article of this kingdom; the rest, which relates to politics, or the art of government, is inconsiderable to the last degree, however it may be represented at court by those who preside there, and would value themselves upon every step they make toward finishing the slavery of that people.

as if it were gaining a mighty point to the advantage of England

Generally speaking, the times which afford most plentiful matter for story, are those wherein a man would least choose to live; such as, the various events and revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or the violence of a prevailing one. and lastly, the arbitrary unlawful acts of oppressing governors. In the war, Ireland has no share but in subordination to us, the same may be said of their factions, which at present are but imperfect transcripts of ours, but, the third subject for history, which is arbitrary power and oppression, as it is that by which the people of Ireland have, for some time, been distinguished from all her majesty's subjects, so, being now at its greatest height under his excellency Thomas, Earl of Wharton, a short account of his government may be of some use or entertainment to the present age, though I hope it will be incredible to the next.

And because the relation I am going to make may be judged rather a history of his excellency, than of his government, I must here declare, that I have not the least view to his person in any part of it. I have had the honour of much conversation with his lordship, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applause, and how insensible of reproach; which is not an humour put on to serve a turn, or keep a countenance, nor arising from the consciousness of innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the mere unaffected bent of his nature. He is without the sense of shame, or glory, as some men are without the sense of smelling; and therefore, a good name to him, is no more than a precious ointment would

be to these. Whoever, for the sake of others, were to describe the nature of a serpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, must be understood to do it without any personal love or hatred for the animals themselves.

In the same manner, his excellency is one whom I neither personally love nor hate. I see him at court, at his own house, and sometimes at mine, for I have the honour of his visits; and when these papers are public, it is odds but he will tell me, as he once did upon a like occasion, "that he is damnably mauled," and then, with the easiest transition in the world, ask about the weather, or time of the day; so that I enter on the work with more cheerfulness, because I am sure neither to make him angry, nor any way hurt his reputation, a pitch of happiness and security to which his excellency has arrived, and which no philosopher before him could reach.

I intend to execute this performance, by first giving a character of his excellency, and then relating some facts during his government in Ireland, which will serve to confirm it.

I know very well, that men's characters are best learned from their actions, but these being confined to his administration in that kingdom, his character may, perhaps, take in something more, which the narrowness of the time, or the scene, has not given him opportunity to exert.

Thomas, Earl of Wharton, lord lieutenant of Ireland, by the force of a wonderful constitution, has some years passed his grand climacteric, without any visible effects of old age, either on his body or his mind; and in spite of a continual prostitution to those vices, which usually wear out both. His behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five-and-twenty. Whether he

walks, or whistles, or swears, or talks bawdy, or calls names, he acquits himself in each, beyond a templar of three years standing. With the same grace, and in the same style, he will rattle his coachman in the midst of the street, where he is governor of the kingdom, and all this is without consequence, because it is in his character, and what every body expects. He seems to be but an ill dissembler, and an ill liar, although they are the two talents he most practises, and most values himself upon. The ends he has gained by lying, appear to be more owing to the frequency, than the art of them: his lies being sometimes detected in an hour, often in a day, and always in a week. He tells them freely in mixed companies, although he knows half of those that hear him to be his enemies, and is sure they will discover them the moment they leave him. He swears solemnly he loves, and will serve you; and your back is no sooner turned, but he tells those about him, you are a dog and a rascal. He goes constantly to prayers in the forms of his place, and will talk bawdy and blasphemy at the chapel door. He is a presbyterian in politics, and an atheist in religion; but he chooses at present to whole with a papist. In his commerce with mankind his general rule is, to endeavour to impose on their understandings, for which he has but one receipt, a composition of lies and oaths. and this he applies indifferently to a freeholder of forty shillings, and a privy counsellor, by which the easy and the honest are often either deceived or amused, and either way he gains his point. He will openly take away your employment to-day, because you are not of his party, to-morrow he will meet or send for you, as if nothing at all had passed, lay his hands with much

friendliness on your shoulders, and with the greatest ease and familiarity, tell you, that the faction are driving at something in the House; that you must be sure to attend, and to speak to all your friends to be there, although he knows at the same time, that you and your friends are against him in the very point he mentions: and however absurd, ridiculous, and gross, this may appear, he has often found it successful; some men having such an awkward bashfulness, they know not how to refuse on a sudden, and every man having something to fear, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes with persons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He has sunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom,* and has raised it by going far in the ruin of another.† With a good natural understanding, a great fluency in speaking, and no ill taste of wit, he is generally the worst companion in the world; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politics, so that bawdy, prophaneness, and business, fill up his whole conversation. To gratify himself in the two first, he makes use of suitable favourites, whose talents reach no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdness that passes in town. As for business, he is said to be very dexterous at that part of it which turns upon intrigue; and he seems to have transferred those talents of his youth for intriguing with women, into public affairs. For, as some vain young fellows to make a gallantly appear of consequence, will choose to venture their necks by climbing up a

* England.

† Ireland.

wall or window at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone in at the door, and at noon-day, so his excellency, either to keep himself in practice, or advance the fame of his politics, affects the most obscure, troublesome, and winding paths, even in the most common affairs, those which would be brought about as well in the ordinary forms, or would follow of course whether he intervened or no.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a stoick; and thinks them well recompensed, by a return of children to support his family, without the fatigues of being a father.

He has three predominant passions, which you will seldom find united in the same man, as arising from different dispositions of mind, and naturally thwarting each other. these are, love of power, love of money, and love of pleasure; they ride him sometimes by turns, sometimes all together. Since he went into Ireland, he seems most disposed to the second, and has met with great success, having gained by his government, of under two years, five-and-forty thousand pounds by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential.

He was never yet known to refuse, or keep a promise, as I remember he told a lady, but with an exception to the promise he then made, (which was to get her a pension) yet he broke even that, and, I confess, deceived us both. But here I desire to distinguish between a promise and a bargain; for he will be sure to keep the latter, when he has the fairest offer.

Thus much for his excellency's character; I shall now proceed to his actions, only during the time he was governor of Ireland, which were

transmitted to me by an eminent person in business there, who had all opportunities of being well informed, and whose employment did not lie at his excellency's mercy

This intelligence being made up of several facts independent of each other, I shall hardly be able to relate them in due order of time, my correspondent omitting that circumstance, and transmitting them to me as they came into his memory; so that the gentlemen of that kingdom now in town, I hope, will pardon me any slips I shall make in that or any other kind, while I keep exactly to the truth

Thomas Proby, Esq. chirurgion-general of Ireland, a person universally esteemed, and whom I have formerly seen here, had built a country-house half a mile from Dublin, adjoining to the park. In a corner of the park, just under his house, he was much annoyed with a dog-kennel which belonged to the government; upon which he applied to Thomas, Earl of Pembroke, then lord-lieutenant, and to the commissioners of the revenue, for a lease of about five acres of that part of the park. His petition was referred to the lord treasurer here, and sent back for a report, which was in his favour, and the bargain so hard, that the lord treasurer struck off some part of the rent. He had a lease granted him, for which he was to build another kennel, provide ice yearly for the government, and pay a certain rent. the land might be worth about thirty shillings an acre. His excellency, soon after his arrival in Ireland, was told of this lease, and by his absolute authority, commanded Mr Proby to surrender up the land, which he was forced to do, after all the expence he had been at, or else must have expected to lose his employment; at the

same time he is under an obligation to pay his rent, and I think he does it to this day. There are several circumstances in this story which I have forgot, having not been sent to me with the rest, but I had it from a gentleman of that kingdom, who some time ago was here.

Upon his excellency's being declared lord-lieutenant, there came over, to make his court, one Dr Lloyd, fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, noted in that kingdom for being the only clergyman that declared for taking off the sacramental test, as he did openly in their convocation, of which he was a member. The merit of this, and some other principles suitable to it, recommended by Tom Broderick, so far ingratiated him with his excellency, that being provided of a *proper chaplain* already, he took him, however, into a great degree of favour. the Doctor attended his excellency to Ireland, and observing a cast wench in the family to be in much confidence with my lady, he thought, by addressing there, to have a short open passage to preferment. He met with great success in his amou; and walking one day with his mistress after my lord and lady in the Castle-garden, my lady said to his excellency, "What do you think? we are going to lose poor Foydy," a name of fondness they usually gave her. "Who do you mean?" said my lord. "Why the Doctor behind us is resolved to take her from us" "Is he by G—? Why then (G—d—mn me) he shall have the first bishopric that falls" " "

* It was confidently reported, as a conceit of his excellency, that, talking upon this subject, he once said, with great pleasure, that he hoped to make his whore a bishop.—SWIFT.

The Doctor, thus encouraged, grew a most violent lover, returned with his excellency for England, and soon after the bishopric of Cork falling void, to show he meant fair, he married his damsel publicly here in London, and his excellency as honourably engaged his credit to get him the bishopric, but the matter was reckoned so infamous, that both the archbishops here, especially his grace of York, interposed with the queen, to hinder so great a scandal to the church; and Dr Brown, provost of Dublin College, being then in town, her majesty was pleased to nominate him. so that Dr Lloyd was forced to sit down with a moderate deanery in the northern parts of that kingdom, and the additional comfort of a sweet lady, who brought this her first husband no other portion than a couple of olive branches for his table, though she herself hardly knows by what hand they were planted.

The queen reserves all the great employments of Ireland to be given by herself, though often by the recommendation of the chief governor, according to his credit at court. The provostship of Dublin College is of this number, which was now vacant, upon the promotion of Dr Brown. Dr Benjamin Pratt, a fellow of that college, and chaplain to the House of Commons of that kingdom, as well as domestic chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, was at that time here, in attendance upon the duke. He is a gentleman of good birth and fortune in Ireland, and lived here in a very decent figure. he is a person of wit and learning, has travelled and conversed in the best company, and was very much esteemed among us here when I had the pleasure of his acquaintance: but he had the original sin of being a reputed Tory, and a dependant on the Duke of Ormond; however,

he had many friends among the bishops, and other nobility, to recommend him to the queen. At the same time there was another fellow of that college, one Dr Hall, who had the advantage of Pratt in point of seniority. This gentleman had very little introduced himself into the world, but lived retired, though otherwise said to be an excellent person, and very deserving for his learning and sense. He had been recommended from Ireland by several persons, and his excellency, who had never before seen nor thought of him, after having tried to injure the college by recommending persons from this side, at last set up Hall, with all imaginable zeal, against Pratt. I tell this story the more circumstantially, because it is affirmed by his excellency's friends, that he never made more use of his court skill than at this time, to hinder Dr Pratt from the provostship, not only from the personal hatred he had to the man, on account of his patron and principles, but that he might return to Ireland with some little opinion of his credit at court, which had mightily suffered by many disappointments, especially the last, of his chaplain Dr Lloyd. It would be incredible to relate the many artifices he used to this end, of which the Doctor had daily intelligence, and would fairly tell his excellency so at his levees; who sometimes could not conceal his surprise, and then would promise, with half a dozen oaths, never to concern himself one way or other, these were broke every day, and every day detected. One morning, after some expostulation between the Doctor and his excellency, and a few additional oaths that he would never oppose him more; his excellency went immediately to the Bishop of Ely, and prevailed on him to go to the queen from him, and

let her majesty know, that he never could consent, as long as he lived, that Dr Piatt should be provost; which the bishop barely complied with, and delivered his message, though at the same time he did the Doctor all the good offices he could. The next day the Doctor was again with his excellency, and gave him thanks for so open a proceeding; the affair was now past dissembling, and his excellency owned he did not oppose him directly, but confessed he did it collaterally. The Doctor, a little warmed, said, "No, my lord, you mean *directly* you did not, but *indirectly* you did." The conclusion was, that the queen named the Doctor to the place; and as a farther mortification, just upon the day of his excellency's departure for Ireland.

But here I must desire the reader's pardon, if I cannot digest the following facts in so good a manner as I intended, because it is thought expedient, for some reasons, that the world should be informed of his excellency's merits as soon as possible. I will therefore only transcribe the several passages as they were sent me from Dublin, without either correcting the style, or adding any remarks of my own. As they are, they may serve for hints to any person who may hereafter have a mind to write memoirs of his excellency's life.

A relation of several facts, exactly as they were transmitted to me from Ireland about three months ago, and at several times, from a person of quality, and in employment there.

THE Earl of Rochfort's regiment of dragoons was embarked for her majesty's service abroad,

on the 27th of August 1709, and left their horses behind them, which were subsisted in order to mount another regiment to fill up their room; as the horses of lieutenant-general Haivey's regiment had formerly mounted a regiment raised, and still commanded, by the Duke of Oimond; on which occasion the duke had her majesty's order only, for as much money as would supply the charge of the horses, till the regiment was raised, which was soon after, and then it was put on the establishment as other regiments. But that which was to supply the Earl of Rochfort's, had not a commission granted till the 29th of April 1710, and all the pay from the 27th of August to that time (being above L 5700) was taken under pretence of keeping the horses, buying new ones in the room of such as should be wanting or unserviceable, and for providing accoutrements for the men and horses. As for the last use, those are always provided out of the funds for providing clothing, and the Duke of Oimond did so. as for horses wanting, they are very few, and the captains have orders to provide them another way; and the keeping the horses did not amount to L. 700 by the accounts laid before the committee of parliament: so there was at least L. 5000 charged to the nation, more than the actual charge could amount to.

Mrs Lloyd, at first coming over, expected the benefit of the box-money; and accordingly talked of selling it for about L 200, but at last was told she must expect but part of it, and that the grooms of the chamber, and other servants, would deserve a consideration for their attendance. Accordingly his excellency had it brought to him every night, and to make it worth his receiving, my lady gave great encouragement to play, so

that, by a moderate computation, it amounted to L. 1000, of which a small share was given to the grooms of the chamber, and the rest made a perquisite to his excellency for Mrs Lloyd having a husband, and a bishopric promised her, the other pretensions were cut off.

He met lieutenant general Langston in the court of requests, and presented a gentleman to him, saying, "This is a particular friend of mine, he tells me he is a lieutenant in your regiment, I must desire you will take the first opportunity to give him a troop, and you will oblige me mightily." The lieutenant general answered, "He had served very well, and had very good pretensions to a troop, and that he would give him the first that fell." With this the gentleman was mightily well satisfied, returned thanks, and withdrew. Upon which his excellency said immediately, "I was forced to speak for him, as a great many of his friends have votes at elections; but damn him, he is a rogue, therefore take no care for him."

He brought one May to the Duke of Ormond, and recommended him as a very honest gentleman, and desired his grace would provide for him, which his grace promised him. So May withdrew. As soon as he was gone, his lordship immediately said to the duke. "That fellow is the greatest rogue in Christendom."

Colonel Coward having received pay for some time in two or three regiments, as captain, but never done any other service to the crown than eating and drinking in the expedition to Cadiz under the duke of Ormond, finding he had not pretensions enough to rise, after he had sold the last employment he had, applied to his excellency, who represented him in such a light, that he

got above 900*l.* as an annuity of halfpay, which he had no title to, and a pension of 10*s.* a day; but he reckoned this as much too little for his wants, as every body else did too much for his pretensions, gave in a second petition to the queen for a farther addition of 10*s.* a day; which being referred to his excellency, he gave him a favourable report, by means whereof, it is hoped, his merit will be still farther rewarded.

He turned out the poor gatekeeper of Chapel-izod gate, though he and his wife were each above sixty years old, without assigning any cause, and they are now starving.

As for the business of the arsenal, it was the product of chance, and never so much as thought of by the persons who of late have given so many good reasons for the building of it, till, upon inquiring into the funds, they were found to hold out so well, that there was a necessity of destroying sixty or seventy thousand pounds, otherwise his excellency, for that time, could hardly have had the credit of taxing the kingdom. Upon this occasion, many projects were proposed, all which at last gave way to the proposal of a worthy person, who had often persuaded the nation to do itself a great deal of harm, by attempting to do itself a little good; which was, that forty thousand arms should be provided for the militia, and ammunition in proportion, to be kept in four arsenals to be built for that purpose: this was accordingly put into the heads of a bill, and then this worthy patriot, with his usual sincerity, declared he would not consent to the giving of money for any other use, as every body thought by the words he spoke, though afterwards he showed them that his meaning was not to be known by the vulgar acceptation of words: for he not on-

ly gave his consent to the bill, but used all the art and industry he was master of, to have it pass; though the money was applied in it to the building of one arsenal only, and ammunition and other stores proportionable, without one word of the militia. So the arsenal was conceived and afterward formed in a proper manner; but when it came to be brought forth, his excellency took it out of the hands that had formed it, as far as he could, and, contrary to all precedents, put it out of the care of the ordnance board, who were properly to have taken care of the receipt and payment of the money without any farther charge to the public, and appointed his second secretary, Mr Denton, to be paymaster, whose salary was a charge of above five hundred pounds in the whole: then, thinking this was too small a charge to put the public to for nothing, he made an establishment for that work, consisting of one superintendent at three pounds *per* week, eight overseers at seven pounds four shillings a week, and sixteen assistants at seven pounds four shillings a week, making in all seventeen pounds eight shillings a week: and these were, for the greatest part, persons who had no knowledge of such business; and their honesty was equal to their knowledge, as it has since appeared by the notorious cheats and neglects that have been made out against them; insomuch that the work they have overseen, which, with their salaries, has cost near three thousand pounds, might have been done for less than eighteen hundred pounds, if it had been agreed for by the yard, which is the usual method, and was so proposed in the estimate: and this is all a certainty, because all that has been done, is only removing earth, which has been exactly computed by the yard, and might have been so agreed for.

Philip Savage, Esq., as chancellor of the exchequer, demanded fees of the commissioners of the revenue for sealing writs in the queen's business, and showed them for it some sort of precedents; but they, not being well satisfied with them, wrote to Mr South, one of the commissioners (then in London,) to inquire the practice there. He sent them word upon inquiry, that fees were paid there upon the like cases; so they adjudged it for him, and constantly paid him fees. If therefore there was a fault, it must lie at their door, for he never offered to stop the business; yet his excellency knew so well how to choose an attorney and solicitor general, that when the case was referred to them, they gave it against the chancellor, and said he had forfeited his place by it, and ought to refund the money, (being about two hundred pounds *per annum*;) but never found any fault in the commissioners, who adjudged the case for him, and might have refused him the money if they had thought fit.

Captain Robert Fitzgerald, father to the present earl of Kildare, had a grant from king Charles the Second, of the office of comptroller of the musters, during the lives of Captain Chambre Brabazon, now earl of Meath, and George Fitzgerald, elder brother to the present earl of Kildare, which the said Robert Fitzgerald enjoyed with a salary of three hundred pounds *per annum*, and after his death, his son George enjoyed it, till my lord Galway did, by threats, compel him to surrender the said patent for a pension of two hundred pounds *per annum*; which he enjoyed during his life. Some time ago the present earl of Kildare, as heir to his father and brother, looked upon himself to be injured by the surrender of the said patent, which should have come to him, the earl of Meath be-

ing still living; therefore, in order to right himself, did petition her majesty; which petition, as usual, was referred to the earl of Wharton, then lord lieutenant, who, being at that time in London, referred it, according to the common method on such occasions, to the lord chancellor and lieutenant general Ingoldsby, the then lords justices of this kingdom; who, for their information, ordered the attorney general to inquire whether the earl of Kildare had any legal title to the said patent, which he, in a full report, said he had: and they referred it to the deputy vice treasurer to inquire into the nature of the office, and to give them his opinion, whether he thought it was useful or necessary for her majesty's service. He gave in his report, and said he thought it both useful and necessary; and, with more honesty than wit, gave the following reasons: first, that the muster-master general computed the pay of the whole military list, which is above 200,000*l. per annum*; so, having no check on him, might commit mistakes, to the great prejudice of the crown. and, secondly, because he had himself found out several of those mistakes, which a comptroller might prevent. The lords justices approved of these reasons, and so sent over their report to my lord lieutenant, that they thought the office useful and necessary. but colonel P——1, the muster-master general, being then in London, and having given my lord lieutenant one thousand pounds for his consent to enjoy that office, after he had got her majesty's orders for a patent, thought a check upon his office would be a troublesome spy upon him; so he pleaded the merit of his thousand pounds, and desired, in consideration thereof, that his excellency would free him from an office that would put it out of his power to w^ong

the crown; and, to strengthen his pretensions, put my lady in mind of what money he had lost to her at play, who immediately, out of a grateful sense of benefits received, railed as much against the lords justices report, as ever she had done against the Tonies; and my lord-lieutenant, prompted by the same virtue, made his report, that there needed no comptroller to that office, because he controlled it himself; which (now having given his word for it) he will, beyond all doubt, effectually do for the future: although since, it has been plainly made appear, that for want of some controul on that office, her majesty has been wronged of many hundred pounds by the roguery of a clerk, and that during the time of his excellency's government; of which there has been but a small part refunded, and the rest has not been inquired after, lest it should make it plainly appear that a comptroller in that office is absolutely necessary.

His excellency being desirous, for a private reason, to provide for the worthless son of a worthless father, who had lately sold his company, and of course all pretension to preferment in the army, took this opportunity · a captain in the oldest regiment in the kingdom, being worn out with service, desired leave to sell, which was granted him; and accordingly, for a consideration agreed upon, he gave a resignation of his company to a person approved of by the commander of the regiment, who at the same time applied to his excellency for leave for another captain of his regiment, who is an engineer in her majesty's service in Spain, and absent by her majesty's licence: his excellency, hearing that, said they might give him a company in Spain, for he would dispose of his here; and so, notwithstanding all the commanders of the regiment could urge, he gave the company, which was regularly surrendered, to his

worthy favourite, and the other company, which was a disputable title, to the gentleman who had paid his money for that which was surrendered.

Talking one morning, as he was dressing, (at least a dozen people present) of the debates in council about the affair of Trim, he said the lord chief justice Dolben* had laid down as law a thing for which a man ought to have his gown stripped off, and be whipt at the cart's a---e; and, in less than a quarter of an hour, repeated the expression again: yet, some days after, sent Dr Lambert† to assure his lordship he said no such thing. Some time after, while he was in England, he used his utmost efforts with the queen to turn him out, but could not: so when he came once again, he took an opportunity (when the judges were to wait on him) to say to them, particularly to lord chief justice Dolben, that perhaps some officious persons would spread stories that he had endeavoured to do some of them a prejudice in England, which he assured them he never had; but, on the contrary, would always, without distinction, show his regard according to merit, which the lord chief justice Broderick was pleased to approve of, by saying, "that was very honourable, that was very gracious;" though he knew the contrary himself.

In England he bid Mr. Deering assure all his friends and acquaintance here, that they, and every body without distinction, might depend on his favour, as they behaved themselves, with which

* Sir William Dolben, bart., lord chief justice of the common pleas, 1714—1720.

† His principal chaplain.

Mr Deering was much pleased, and wrote over to his friends accordingly ; and, as soon as his back was turned, he jeeringly said, “ D---n me, how easily he is bit ! ”

When the duke of Oimond was in the government, he gave to Mr Anderson Saunders the government of Wicklow castle, which has no salary, but a perquisite of some land worth about 12*l. per annum*, which Mr Saunders gave to the free school of the town ; but his excellency, not liking either the person or the use, without any ceremonies, or reason given, superseded him, by giving a commission for it to Jennings the horse-courser, who lies under several odious and scandalous reflections, particularly of very narrowly escaping the gallows for coming.

Some time after his excellency's landing the second time, he sent for Mr Saunders among others, desiring their good offices in the ensuing session, and that Mr Saunders would not take amiss his giving that place to Jennings, for he assured him he did not know it belonged to him ; which is highly probable, because men of his knowledge usually give away things, without inquiring how they are in their disposal. Mr Saunders answered, “ He was very glad to find what was done was not out of any particular displeasure to him, because Mr Whitshed had said at Wicklow (by way of apology for what his excellency had done) that it was occasioned by Mr Saunders's having it ; and seeing his excellency had no ill intention against him, was glad he could tell his excellency it was not legally given away (for he had a *custodiam* for the land out of the court of exchequer,) so his excellency's commission to Jennings could do him no prejudice.”

Lieutenant general Echlin had pay on this es-

tablishment as brigadier, till the middle of October, 1708, when he was removed from it by his excellency, because his regiment went away at that time, and lieutenant general Gorges was put in his room. Some time after, major general Rooke, considering the reason why Echlin was removed, concluded that Gorges could not come on till some time in February after, because his regiment also was out of the kingdom till that time; and that therefore he, being the eldest general officer that had no pay as such, was entitled to the brigadier's pay, from the time Echlin was removed till Gorges was qualified to receive it, he having done the duty. His excellency, upon hearing the reason, owned it to be a very good one, and told him, if the money were not paid to Gorges, he should have it, so bid him go see; which he did, and found it was; then his excellency told him he would refer his case to a court of general officers to give their opinion in it, which he said must needs be in his favour, and upon that ground he would find a way to do him right; yet, when the general officers sat, he sent for several of them, and made them give the case against Rooke.

When the prosecution against the dissenting minister at Drogheda was depending, one Stevens, a lawyer in this town (Dublin) sent his excellency, then in London, a petition, in the name of the said dissenting minister, in behalf of himself and others, who lay under any such prosecution; and in about a fortnight's time his excellency sent over a letter, to the then lords justices, to give the attorney and solicitor general orders, to enter a *noli prosecute* to all such suits, which was done accordingly, though he never so much as inquired into the merits of the cause, or referred the

petition to any body, which is a justice done to all men, let the case be ever so light. He said he had her majesty's orders for it; but they did not appear under her hand. and it is generally affirmed he never had any.

That his excellency can descend to small gains, take this instance: there were 850*l* ordered by her majesty, to buy new liveries for the state trumpets, messengers, &c.; but with great industry he got them made cheaper by 200*l* which he saved out of that sum, and it is reported, that his steward got a handsome consideration besides from the undertaker.

The agent to his regiment, being so also to others, bought a lieutenant's commission in a regiment of foot, for which he never was to do any duty; which service pleased his excellency so well, that he gave him leave to buy a company, and would have had him keep both; but before his pleasure was known, the former was disposed of

The lord lieutenant has no power to remove, or put in a solicitor general, without the queen's letter, it being one of those employments excepted out of his commission, yet, because Sir Richard Levinge disobliged him by voting according to his opinion, he removed him, and put in Mr Forster,* although he had no queen's letter for so doing; only a letter from Mr Secretary Boyle, that her majesty designed to remove him.

The privy council in Ireland have a great share of the administration, all things being carried by the consent of the majority, and they sign all or-

* Afterward recorder of the city of Dublin, and lord chief justice of the common pleas.

deis and proclamations there, as well as the chief governor. But his excellency disliked so great a share of power in any but himself, and when matters were debated in council otherwise than he approved, he would stop them, and say, "Come, my lords, I see how your opinions are, and therefore I will not take your votes;" and so would put an end to the dispute.

One of his chief favourites was a scandalous clergyman, a constant companion of his pleasures, who appeared publicly with his excellency, but never in his habit, and who was a hearer and sharer of all the lewd and blasphemous discourses of his excellency and his cabal. His excellency presented this worthy divine to one of the bishops, with the following recommendation: "My lord, Mr —— is a very honest fellow, and has no fault, but that he is a little too immoral." He made this man chaplain to his regiment, though he had been so infamous, that a bishop in England refused to admit him to a living he had been presented to, till the patron forced him to it by law.

His excellency recommended the Earl of Inchiquin to be one of the lords justices in his absence, and was much mortified when he found lieutenant general Ingoldsby appointed without any regard to his recommendation; particularly because the usual salary of a lord justice, in the lord lieutenant's absence, is L. 100 *per* month, and he had bargained with the earl for L. 40.

I will send you, in a packet or two, some particulars of his excellency's usage of the convocation; of his infamous intrigues with Mrs Coningsby;* an account of his arbitrary proceed-

* To this intrigue may probably belong the charge in the Examiner, No. XVII. that, "on a day set apart for public prayer

ings about the election of a magistrate in Trim;† his selling the place of a privy counsellor and commissioner of the revenue to Mr Conolly;* his barbarous injustice to Dean Jephson and poor Will Clow; his deciding a case at hazard to get my lady twenty guineas, but in so scandalous and unfair a manner, that the arrantest sharper would be ashamed of; the common custom of playing on Sunday in my lady's closet; the *partie quarrée* between her ladyship and Mrs Fl——d, and two young fellows dining privately and frequently at Clontarf, where they used to go in a hackney-coach; and his excellency's making no scruple of dining in a hedge tavein whenever he was invited; with some other passages which I hope you will put into some method, and correct the style, and publish as speedily as you can.

Note, Mr Savage, beside the prosecution about his fees, was turned out of the council for giving his vote in parliament, in a case where his excellency's own friends were of the same opinion, till they were wheedled or threatened out of it by his excellency

The particulars before mentioned I have not yet received. Whenever they come, I shall publish them in a Second Part.

for the safety of the commonwealth, he stole at evening in a chair to a married woman of infamous character, against all decency and prudence, as well as against all laws both human and divine."

† The disputes about the Trim elections are often mentioned in the Journal.

* Afterwards speaker. "Conolly is out, and Mr Roberts in his place.—That employment cost Conolly three thousand pounds to Lord Wharton, so he has made one ill bargain in his life."—*Journal*, 28th September, 1710.

SOME
R E M A R K S

UPON A PAMPHLET ENTITLED,
A LETTER TO THE SEVEN LORDS OF
THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO EXAMINE GREG.
BY THE AUTHOR OF THE EXAMINER.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1711.

REMARKS ON A LETTER, &c.

THE story of Greg was briefly this. He was a vicious and necessitous person, incautiously admitted by Mr Harley, when secretary of state, into his office as a clerk. The lowness of this man's salary, and the negligence with which papers of consequence were left exposed to his inspection, prompted him to open a treasonable correspondence with Monsieur Chamillard, to betray to France the secrets of the British government. Being almost immediately detected, a committee of seven lords, all zealous Whigs, were appointed for his examination. These were the Dukes of Devonshire, Somerset, and Bolton, the Earl of Whar-ton, Lord Viscount Townsend, Lord Somers, and Lord Halifax. As the intrigue, by which Harley was placed in opposition to the Whig interest, was already concocted, there can be no doubt that the committee were desirous to fix upon him some accession to the crime of his clerk. For this purpose, Greg was repeatedly examined while in Newgate. Nay, after he had been tried and condemned for high treason at the Old Bailey, (19th January 1708-9,) he was respited from time to time till the 28th of April following. But during this space, having, as it were, life and death before his eyes, Greg never varied from his original declaration, that he had no accomplices, and had committed the crime merely from private mercenary motives. Even his dying speech, in which he fully and explicitly exculpated Harley, by name, from any participation in his guilt, was, contrary to custom and to justice, withheld from the public by the sheriff, until a direct application was made to Lord Sunderland, which he was probably ashamed to refuse. The committee of nobles evinced so much anxiety to extort a farther confession from this criminal, that they lost the advantage which they had gained over Hailey. In resenting the undue exertions made to implicate the secretary in a crime of which he was innocent, the public forgot the culpable negligence with which the secrets of the state had been exposed in his office to the meanest clerks, and his want of caution in chusing inferiors unfit to be trusted in that station.

When Harley came into office, and was wounded by Guiscard, the history of Greg was again brought up by Swift in the Examiner, as a parallel attempt upon that statesman's life, although conducted by other means. See two Examiners on this subject,

Nos. XXXII. and XXXIII. An answer was made to this accusation on the Whig party, by their professed champion the conductor of the *Medley*, in No. XXVI. But the charge of subordination was still more directly urged against the lords of the committee by one Francis Hoffman, in a pamphlet called, "Secret Transactions during the hundred days Mr William Greg lay in Newgate under sentence of death for high treason, from the day of his sentence to the day of his execution" This piece contains Greg's dying declaration, and a letter from the Rev. Mr Paul Lorraine, the ordinary of Newgate, stating the solicitations which had been used with Greg while in prison, and his uniform and solemn exculpation of Mr Harley. This pamphlet called forth in reply, "A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee appointed to examine Greg," the purpose of which was, to clear these noblemen of the foul innuendo fixed upon them by the author of the *Examiner*, and by the publication called "Secret Transactions."

As in this contest the character of the Tory minister of state and those of the leading nobles of the Whig party were put at issue in opposition to each other, it was thought necessary that Swift should enter the combat in reply to the Letter to the Seven Lords. In his *Journal*, August 24, 1711, he informs Stella, with his usual affectation of reserve, "there is a pamphlet come out in answer to a Letter to the Seven Lords who examined Greg. The answer is by the real author of the *Examiner*, as I believe, for it is very well written." I have already stated my opinion, that in this and similar passages, Swift had no intention to conceal from Stella his real concern in political publications, but merely to guard against the chance of an intercepted letter becoming evidence against the writer.

SOME

REMARKS, &c.

THOSE who have given themselves the trouble to write against me, either in single papers or pamphlets, (and they are pretty numerous) do all agree in discovering a violent rage, and at the same time affecting an air of contempt, toward their adversary; which, in my humble opinion, are not very consistent: and therefore it is plain, that their fury is real and hearty, their contempt only personated. I have pretty well studied this matter, and would caution writers of their standard, never to engage in that difficult attempt of despising; which is a work to be done in cold blood, and only by a superior genius, to one at some distance beneath him. I can truly affirm, I have had a very sincere contempt for many of those who have drawn their pens against me; yet I rather chose the cheap way of discovering it by silence and neglect, than be at the pains of new terms to express it: I have known a lady value herself upon a haughty disdainful look, which very few understood, and nobody alive regarded. Those commonplace terms of infamous scribbler, prostitute libeller, and the like, thrown abroad without propriety or provocation, do ill personate the true spirit of contempt, because

they are such as the meanest writer,* whenever he pleases, may use toward the best I remember indeed a parish fool, who, with a great deal of deformity, carried the most disdainful look I ever observed in any countenance. and it was the most prominent part of his folly; but he was thoroughly in earnest, which these writers are not: for there is another thing I would observe, that my antagonists are most of them so, in a literal sense; breathe real vengeance, and extend their threats to my person, if they knew where to find it; wherein they are so far from despising, that I am sensible they do me too much honour. The author of the Letter to the Seven Lords, takes upon him the three characters of a despiser, a threatener, and a railer, and succeeds so well in the two last, that it has made him miscarry in the first. It is no unwise proceeding, which the writers of that side have taken up, to scatter their menaces in every paper they publish; it may perhaps look absurd, ridiculous, and impudent, in people at mercy to assume such a style; but the design is right, to endeavour persuading the world that it is they who are the injured party, that they are the sufferers, and have a right to be angry.

However, there is one point, wherein these gentlemen seem to stretch this wise expedient a little farther than it will allow. I, who for several months undertook to examine into the late management of persons and things, was content sometimes to give only a few hints of certain

* In the Letter, the author of the Examiner was treated as the most stupid blunderer, the falsest scribbler, the most abandoned wretch, the scum of mankind, and the basest flatterer alive.

matters, which I had charity enough to wish might be buried for ever in oblivion, if the confidence of these people had not forced them from me. One instance whereof, among many, is the business of Gregg, the subject of a letter I am now considering. If this piece has been written by direction, as I should be apt to suspect, yet, I am confident, they would not have us think so, because it is a sort of challenge, to let the world into the whole secret of Gregg's affair. But I suppose they are confident, it is what I am not master of, wherein it is odds but they may be mistaken, for I believe the memorials of that transaction are better preserved, than they seem to be aware of, as perhaps may one day appear.

This writer is offended, because I have said so many severe things with application to particular persons. The Medley has been often in the same story; if they condemn it as a crime in general, I shall not much object; at least I will allow it should be done with truth and caution; but, by what argument will they undertake to prove that it is pardonable on one side, and not on the other? Since the late change of ministry, I have observed many of that party take up a new style, and tell us, "That this way of personal reflection ought not to be endured; they could not approve of it; it was against charity and good manners." When the Whigs were in power, they took special care to keep their adversaries silent; then all kind of falsehood and scurrility was doing good service to the cause, and detecting evil principles. Now, that the face of things is changed, and we have liberty to retort upon them, they are for calling down fire from Heaven upon us; though, by a sort of indulgence which they were strangers to, we allow them equal liberty of the press with

ourselves; and they even now make greater use of it, against persons in the highest power and credit, than we do against those who have been discaided, for the most infamous abuse of both.

Who encouraged and rewarded the *Observer* and *Review*,* for many years together, in charging the whole body of the clergy with the most odious crimes and opinions; in declaring all who took oaths to the government, and called themselves Tories, to be worse than papists and non-jurors; in exposing the universities, as seminaries of the most pernicious principles in church and state; in defending the Rebellion, and the murder of King Charles I., which they asserted to be altogether as justifiable as the late Revolution? Is there a great man now in power, or in any credit with the queen, whom those worthy undertakers have not treated, by name, in the most ignominious manner? Even since this great change of affairs, with what amazing licentiousness has the writer of the *Medley* attacked every person of the present ministry, the speaker of the House of Commons, and the whole senate! He has turned into ridicule the results of the council and the parliament, as well as the just and generous endeavours of the latter, to pay the debts, and restore the credit of the nation, almost ruined by the corruption and management of his own party.

And are these the people who complain of personal reflections; who so confidently invoke the men in power, (whom they have so highly obliged) to punish or silence me for reflecting on their exploded heroes? Is there no difference between men chosen by the prince, revered by the

* Conducted by Tutchin and De Foe, both dissenters.

people for their virtue, and others rejected by both for the highest demerits? Shall the Medley and his brothers fly out with impunity against those who preside at the helm? and am I to be torn in pieces, because I censure others, who, for endeavouring to split the vessel against a rock, are put under the hatches?

I now proceed to the pamphlet which I intend to consider. It is a letter written to seven great men, who were appointed to examine Gregg in Newgate. The writer tells their lordships, that the Examiner has charged them with endeavouring, by bribery and subornation of, that criminal, to take away Mr Harley's life. If there be any thing among the papers I have writ, which may be applied to these persons, it would have become this author to have cleared them fully from the accusation, and then he might at leisure have fallen upon me as a liar and misrepresenter; but of that he has not offered a syllable; the weight of his charge lies here; that such an author as the Examiner should presume, by certain innuendoes, to accuse any great persons of such a crime. My business, in those papers, was to represent facts; and I was as sparing as possible of reflecting upon particular persons; but the mischief is, that the readers have always found names to tally with those facts; and I know no remedy for this. As for instance, in the case here before us. An under clerk in the secretary's office, of fifty pounds a year, is discovered to hold correspondence with France, and apprehended by his master's order, before he could have opportunity to make his escape by the private warning of a certain person, a professed enemy to the secretary. The criminal is condemned to die. It is found, upon his trial, that he was a

poor profligate fellow; the secretary, at that time, was under the mortal hatred of a violent prevailing party, who dreaded him for his great abilities, and his avowed design to break their destructive measures.

It was very well known, that a secretary of state has little or no intercourse with the lower clerks, but with the under secretaries,* who are the more immediate masters of those clerks, and are, and ought to be, as they then were, gentlemen of worth; however, it would pass well enough in the world, that Gregg was employed in Mr Secretary Harley's office, and was consequently one of his clerks, which would be ground enough to build upon it what suggestions they pleased. Then for the criminal, he was needy and vicious; he owed his death to the secretary's watchful pursuit of him, and would therefore probably incline to hearken to any offers that would save his life, gratify his revenge, and make him easy in his fortune; so that, if a work of darkness were to be done, it must be confessed, here were proper motives, and a proper instrument. But ought we to suspect any persons of such a diabolical practice? can all faith, and honour, and justice, be thus violated by men? questions proper for a pulpit, or well becoming a philosopher; but what if it were *regnandi causa*, and that perhaps in a literal sense? Is this an age of the world to think crimes improbable because they are great? Perhaps it is; but what shall we say to some of those circumstances which attended this fact. Who gave rise to this report against Mr Harley? will any of his

* Harley's under secretary in 1707-8, was Swift's friend, Erasmus Lewis.

enemies confess, in cold blood, that they did either believe, suspect, or imagine, the secretary, and one of his under clerks, to be joined in corresponding with Fiance ? Some of them, I should think, knew better what belonged to such a correspondence, and how it ought to be managed. The nature of Gregg's crime was such, as to be best performed without any accomplices at all, it was, to be a spy here for the French, and to tell them all he knew; and it appears, by his letters, that he never had it in his power to let them into any thing of importance. The copy of the queen's letter to the emperor, * which he sent to the enemy, and has made such a noise, was only to desire that Prince Eugene might be employed to command in Spain; which, for six weeks before, had been mentioned in all the Gazettes of Europe. It was evident, from the matter of his letters, that no man of consequence could have any share in them. The whole affair had been examined in the cabinet two months before, and there found and reported as only affecting the person of Gregg, who, to supply his vices and his wants, was tempted to engage in that correspondence; it is therefore hard to conceive, how that examination should be resumed, after such a distance of time, with any fair or honourable intention. Why were not Gregg's examinations published which were signed by his own hand, and had been taken in the cabinet two months before the committee of the House was appointed to re-examine him ? why was he pressed so close, to cry out with horror, " Good God ! would you have

* It was drawn by Mr Lewis, and corrected by Harley himself,

me accuse Mr Harley, when he is wholly innocent?" why were all the answers returned to the queries sent him, immediately burned? I cannot, in my conscience, but think that the party was bound in honour to procure Gregg a pardon, which was openly promised him, upon condition of making an ingenuous confession, unless they had some other notions of what is ingenuous, than is commonly meant by that word. A confession may be nevertheless ingenuous, for not answering the hopes or designs of those who take it; but, though the word was publicly used, the definition of it was reserved to private interpretation, and by a capricious humour of fortune, a most flagitious, though repenting villain, was hanged for his virtue. It could not indeed consist with any kind of prudence then in fashion, to spare his life; and thereby leave it in his power, at any time, to detect their practices, which he might afterward do at any time, with so much honour to himself.

But I have the luck to be accused by this author in very good company; the two Houses of parliament in general, and the speaker of the House of Commons in particular; whom he taxes with falsehood and absurdity, as well as myself, though in a more respectful manner, and by a sort of irony. The whole kingdom had given the same interpretation that I had done, to some certain passages in the address from both Houses, upon the attempt of Guiscard; friends and enemies agreed in applying the word faction. But the speaker is much clearer, talks, (as I have mentioned in another place,) of some unparalleled attempts, and uses other terms that come pretty home to the point. As to what the parliament affirms, this author makes it first as absurd and

impracticable as he can ; and then pretends to yield, as pressed by so great an authority ; and explains their meaning into nonsense, in order to bring them off from reflecting upon his party. Then for the speaker, this writer says, he is but a single man ; and, because his speech was in words too direct to avoid,* he advises him to save his honour and virtue, by owning a solecism in speech ; and to write less correctly, rather than mean maliciously. What an expedient this advocate has found to remove the load of an accusation ! He answers, "The crime is horrible ; that great men ought not to be thus insolently charged." I reply, "That the parliament and speaker appear, in many points, to be of the same opinion."—He rejoins, "That he is pressed by too great an authority ; that perhaps those wise assemblies, and that honourable gentleman, (who besides is but a single man,) may probably speak nonsense ; they must either deliver a solecism, or be malicious ; and, in good manners, he rather thinks it may be the former."

The writer of the letter, having thus dispatched the Examiner, falls next upon a paper called Secret Transactions, &c. † written, as he tells us, by one Francis Hoffman, and the ordinary of Newgate ; persons whom I have not the honour to be known to, (whatever my betters may be,) nor have yet seen their productions ; but, by what is cited from them in the letter, it should seem, they have made some untoward observations. However, the same answer still serves ; not

* This word is improperly used here, both in point of sense and grammar. It should be—too direct *to be evaded*.

† See introductory remarks.

a word to controul what they say ; only they are a couple of daring, insolent wretches, to reflect upon the greatest and best men in England , and there is an end I have no sort of regard for that same Hoffman, to whose character I am a perfect stranger , but methinks the ordinary of Newgate should be treated with more respect, considering what company he has kept, and what visitors he may have had. However, I shall not enter into a point of controversy, whether the lords were acquainted with the ordinary, or the ordinary with the lords, since this author leaves it undecided. Only one thing I take to be a little hard. It is now confessed on all hands, that Mr Harley was most unjustly suspected of joining with an under clerk, in corresponding with France. The suspicion being in itself unreasonable, and without the least probable grounds, wise men began to consider what violent enemies that gentleman had ; they found the report most industriously spread, the Whigs, in common discourse, discovering their wishes, that he might be found guilty ; the management of the whole affair was put into the hands of such as, it is supposed, would at least not be sorry to find more than they expected. The criminal's dying speech is unfortunately published, wherein he thanks God he was not tempted to save his life by falsely accusing his master, with more to the same purpose : from all this put together, it was no very unnatural conjecture, that there might have been some tampering. Now, I say, it is a little hard, that Mr Harley's friends must not be allowed to have their suspicions, as well as his enemies ; and this author, if he intended to deal fairly, should have spent one paragraph in railing at those who had the impudence and villainy to

suspect Mr Hailey, and then proceeded in due method to defend his committee of examiners; but that gentleman being, as this author says of the speaker, but a single man, I suppose his reputation and life were esteemed but of little consequence.

There is one state of the case in this letter, which I cannot well omit, because the author, I suppose, conceives it to be extremely cunning and malicious, that it cuts to the quick, and is wonderfully severe upon Mr Hailey, without exposing the writer to any danger. I say this to gratify him, to let him know I take his meaning, and discover his inclinations. His parallel case is this: "Supposing Guiscard had been intimate with some great officer of state, and had been suspected to communicate his most secret affairs with that minister; then he asks, 'Whether it would have been subornation, or seeking the life and blood of that officer, in these great lords of the council, if they had narrowly examined this affair, inquired with all exactness what he knew of this great officer, what secrets he had imparted to him, and whether he were privy to his corresponding?' &c In this parallel, Guiscard's case is supposed to be the same with Gregg's; and that of the great officer, with Mr Harley's. So that here he lays down as a thing granted, that Gregg was intimate with Mr Harley, and suspected to communicate his most secret affairs to him. Now, did ever any rational man suspect, that Mr Harley, first principal secretary of state, was intimate with an under clerk, or upon the foot of having most secret affairs communicated to him from such a counsellor, from one in so inferior a station, whom perhaps he hardly knew by sight? why was that report raised, but for the

uses which were afterward made of it^d or, why should we wonder that they, who were so wicked as to be authors of it, would be scrupulous in applying it to the only purpose for which it could be raised^d

Having thus considered the main design of this letter, I shall make a few remarks upon some particular passages in it.

First, Though it be of no consequence to this dispute, I cannot but observe a most evident falsehood, which he repeats three or four times in his letter, that I make the world believe I am set on work by great people. I remember myself to have several times affirmed the direct contrary, and so I do still; and if I durst tell him my name, which he is so desirous to know, he would be convinced that I am of a temper to think no man great enough to set me on work; nay, I am content to own all the scurilous titles he gives me, if he be able to find one innuendo through all those papers that can any way favour this calumny; the malice of which is not intended against me, but the present ministry; to make the world believe, that what I have published is the utmost effort of all they can say or think against the last; whereas it is nothing more than the common observations of a private man, deducing consequences and effects from very natural and visible causes.

He tells us, with great propriety of speech, that the seven lords and their friends are treated as subverters of the constitution, and such as have been long endeavouring to destroy both church and state. This puts me in mind of one, who first murdered a man, and afterward endeavoured to kill him; and therefore I here solemnly deny them to have been subverters of the constitu-

tion; but that some people did their best endeavours, I confidently believe.

He tells me particularly, that I acquit Guiscard, by a blunder, of a design against Mr Harley's life. I declare he injures me; for I look upon Guiscard to be full as guilty of the design, as even those were who tampered with the business of Gregg; and both, (to avoid all cavilling,) as guilty as ever any man was that suffered death by law.

He calls the stabbing of Mr Harley, a sore blow; but I suppose he means his recovery. that indeed was a sore blow to the interests of his party; but I take the business of Gregg to have been a much sorer blow to their reputation.

This writer wonders how I should know their lordships' hearts, because he hardly knows his own. I do not well see the consequence of this: perhaps he never examines into his own heart, perhaps it keeps no correspondence with his tongue or his pen: I hope, at least, it is a stranger to those foul terms he has strewed throughout his letter; otherwise I fear I know it too well. for out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh. But, however, actions are pretty good discoverers of the heart, though words are not; and whoever has once endeavoured to take away my life, if he has still the same, or rather much greater cause, whether it be a just one or not, and has never shown the least sign of remorse; I may venture, without being a conjurer, to know so much of his heart, as to believe he would repeat his attempt, if it were in his power. I must needs quote some following lines in the same page, which are of an extraordinary kind, and seem to describe the blessed age we should live in, under the return of the late administration.

“ It is very well (says he) that people’s heads are to stand on their shoulders as long as the laws will let them ; if it depended upon any thing besides, it may be your lordships’ seven heads might be as soon cut off, as that one gentleman’s, were you in power.” Then he concludes the paragraph with this charitable prayer, in the true moderation style, and in *Italic letter*: “ May the head that has done the kingdom the greatest mischief, fall first, let it be whose it will” The plain meaning of which is this. If the late ministry were in power, they would act just as the present ministry would if there were no law, which perhaps may be true but I know not any ministry upon earth that I durst confide in, without law ; and if, at their coming in again, they design to make their power the law, they may as easily cut off seven heads as one. As for the head that has done the greatest mischief to the kingdom, I cannot consent it should fall, till he and I have settled the meaning of the word mischief. Neither do I much approve this renewing an old fashion of whipping off heads by a prayer ; it began from what some of us think an ill precedent. Then that unlimited clause, “ let it be whose it will,” perplexes me not a little. I wish, in compliance with an old form, he had excepted my Lord Mayor : otherwise, if it were to be determined by their vote, whose head it was that had done the greatest mischief ; which way can we tell how far their predecessors’ principles may have influenced them ? God preserve the queen and her ministers from such undistinguishing disposers of heads !

His remarks upon what the ordinary told Hoffman, are singular enough. The ordinary’s words are, “ That so many endeavours were used to

corrupt Gregg's conscience, &c. that he felt as much uneasiness lest Gregg should betray his master, as if it had been his own case." The author of the letter says to this, "That, for aught the ordinary knew, he might confess what was exactly true of his master; and that therefore an indifferent person might as well be uneasy, for fear Gregg should discover something of his master, that would touch his life, and* yet might have been true" But, if these were really the ordinary's thoughts at that time, they were honest and reasonable. He knew it was highly improbable that a person of Mr Harley's character and station, should make use of such a confederate in treason: if he had suspected his loyalty, he could not have suspected his understanding. And knowing how much Mr Harley was feared and hated by the men in power, and observing that resort to Gregg at unseasonable hours, and that strange promises were often made him by men of note; all this, put together, might naturally incline the ordinary to think, the design could be nothing else, but that Mr Harley should be accused in spite of his innocence.†

* It ought to be—"which yet might have been true."

† It is but justice to the ordinary to state, that before he entertained this anxiety, lest Gregg should accuse Harley, he had satisfied himself of the latter's innocence. "I often," says he, "pressed him to discover who, if any, were concerned with him in that treasonable fact, and pressed him also, in a special manner, upon his eternal salvation, and as he should answer it at the great tribunal of God, freely to tell me, whether Mr Harley did know any thing of it, or was any ways concerned, or to be concerned in it? To which he answered me, with the greatest and solemnest asseveration and protestation imaginable. (he being all the while on his knees, and calling the great God to witness,) that that honourable gentleman, Mr Robert Harley, knew nothing of

This charge of subornation is, it seems, so extraordinary a crime, that the author challenges all the books in the new lord's library* (because he hears it is the largest) to furnish us with an instance like it. What if this charge should be true? Then I, in my turn, would challenge all the books in another lord's library, which is ten times larger, (though perhaps not so often disturbed) to furnish us with an instance like this. If it be so monstrous a thing to accuse others of subornation, what epithet is left to bestow upon those who are really guilty of the crime itself? I think it beyond controversy, that subornation was practised in the business of Gregg. This manifestly appears from those few facts I have mentioned: let the Whigs agree among them where to fix it. Nay, it is plain, by the great endeavours made to stifle his last speech, that they would have suborned the poor man even after he was dead: And is this a matter now to be called in question, much less to be denied?

He compares the examination of Guiscard with that of Gregg, talks of several great persons who examined the former in prison, and promised him the queen's pardon, if he would make a full discovery. Then the author puts the case, "How wicked it would be to charge these honourable counsellors with suborning Guiscard by promises of life, &c. to accuse the innocent, and betray

it, neither was to know or be concerned in it. Which he having said, and often repeated to me, I then grew jealous of those persons that frequently came to him, who, as he told me, were so far from offering him any thing to quiet his conscience, that, on the contrary, they gave a great disturbance to it."—*The Ordinary's Letter to Francis Hoffman in Secret Transactions.*

* That of Harley, newly created Earl of Oxford.

his friend!" Does it any where appear, that those noble persons, who examined Guiscard, put leading questions to him, or pointed out where they would have him fix an accusation? Did they name some mortal enemy of their own, and then drop words of pardon and reward, if he would accuse him? Did Guiscard leave any paper behind him, to justify the innocence of some great person whom he was tempted to accuse? yet perhaps I could think of certain people, who were much more likely to act in concert with Guiscard, than ever Mr Harley was to be confederate with Gregg. I can imagine several who wished the penknife in Mr Harley's heart, though Guiscard alone was desperate enough to attempt it. Who were those, that by their discourses, as well as countenances, discovered their joy when the blow was struck? Who were those, that went out, or stood silent, when the address and congratulation were voted? and, who were those that refined so far, as to make Mr Harley confederate with his own assassin?

There is one point, which this author affirms more than once or twice in a transient way, as if he would have us suppose it a thing granted; but is of such a weight, that it wants nothing but truth to make the late change of ministry a very useless and dangerous proceeding. for, so it must be allowed, if, as he affirms, "Affairs are still under the like management, and must be so, because there is no better; that this set of men must take the same courses in their ministration, with their predecessors, or ten times worse; that the new servants go on in the old methods, and give the same counsel and advice, on the like occasions, with the old ones:" with more to the same purpose. A man may affirm, without be-

ing of the cabinet, that every syllable of this is absolutely false, unless he means that money is still raised by parliament, and borrowed upon new funds; that the Duke of Marlborough still commands the army; that we have a treasurer, keeper, president, and secretaries, as we had before, and that because the council meets much about the same times and places as formerly, therefore they give the same advice, and pursue the same measures. What does he think of finding funds to pay the old unprovided for debt of the navy, and erecting a company for the South Sea trade? What does he think of Mr Hill's expedition, to preserve our trade in the West Indies? What, of the methods taken to make our allies pay then quotas to the war, which was a thing so scandalously either neglected, connived at, or encouraged? What, of the care to retrench the exorbitant expenses of the Spanish war? What, of those many abuses and corruptions at home, which have been so narrowly inquired into, and in a good part redressed? evils, so deeply radicated, must require some time to remedy them, and cannot be all set right in a few months. Besides, there are some circumstances known by the names of honour, probity, good sense, great capacity for business; as likewise, certain principles of religion and loyalty, the want, or possession, of all which, will make a mighty difference even in the pursuit of the same measures. There is also one characteristic, which will ever distinguish the late ministry from the present: That the former, sacrificing all other regards, to the increase of their wealth and power, found those were no otherwise to be preserved, but by continuance of the war, whereas the interests, as well as inclinations of the present, dispose

them to make use of the first opportunities, for a safe and honourable peace.

The writer goes on upon another parallel case, which is the modern way of reflecting upon a prince and ministry. He tells us, "That the queen was brought to discard her old officers, through the multitude of complaints, secret teasings, and importunate clamours, of a rout of people, led by their priests, and spirited underhand by crafty emissaries." Would not any one who reads this, imagine, that the whole rabble, with the clergy at their head, were whispering in the queen's ear, or came in disguise to desire a word with her majesty, like the army of the two kings of Bientford? The unbiassed majority of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, are called, by this son of obscurity, a rout of people, and the clergy their leaders. We have often accused that party for their evil talent of railing perpetually against the clergy, which they discovered at first without any visible reason or provocation, as conscious of the designs they had in view, and therefore wisely began by vilifying those whom they intended to destroy. I have observed formerly, that the party malice against the clergy has been so blind and furious, as to charge them with crimes wholly inconsistent. I find they are still in the same disposition, and that this writer has received direction from his superiors, to pursue the old style upon that article. Accordingly, in the paragraph I am now upon, he represents that reverend body as leaders, cullies, and tools. First, he says, "That rout of secret teasers (meaning the nobility and gentry of the kingdom) were led by the priests." Then he assures us, "That the queen will, in a year or two, begin to consider who it was that cheated those poor

priests." And in case her majesty should have a mind to bring in the old ministry again, he comforts his party, "That the priests are seldom wanting, to become the tools of cunning managers." I desire to know in what sense he would have us to understand, that these poor priests have been cheated. Are they cheated by a fund established for building fifty churches? or the queen's letter empowering them to proceed on the business proper for a convocation? what one single advantage could they possibly lose by this change? They are still indeed abused every day in print, but it is by those who are without the power to hurt them; the serpent has lost his sting, is trodden under foot, and its hissing is contemned. But he confidently affirms, "That, when it shall be thought fit to restore the old ministry, the priests will not be wanting, to become the tools of their cunning managers." This I cannot by any means allow, unless they have some hidden reserve of cunning, which has never yet been produced. The cunningest managers I ever knew among them, are, of all others, most detested by the clergy: neither do I remember they have been ever able to make any of them tools, except by making them bishops, even those few they were able to seduce, would not be their tools at a lower rate.

But, because this author, and others of his standard, affect to make use of that word tool, when they have a mind to be shrewd and satirical, I desire once for all to set them right. A tool and an instrument, in the metaphorical sense, differ thus. the former, is an engine in the hands of knaves; the latter, in those of wise and honest men. The greatest ministers are instruments in the hands of princes, and so are princes them-

selves in the hands of God ; and in this sense, the clergy are ready to be instruments of any good to the prince or people. But that the clergy of England, since the Reformation, have at any time been the tools of a party, is a calumny which history and constant experience will immediately confute. Schismatic and fanatic preachers have indeed been perpetually employed that way, with good success, by the faction against king Charles I., to murder their prince, and ruin the monarchy ; by king James II., to bring in popery ; and ever since the Revolution, to advance the unmeasurable appetite of power and wealth, among a set of profligate upstarts. But in all these three instances, the established clergy (except a very few, like tares among wheat, and those generally sown by the enemy) were so far from being tools, that in the first, they were persecuted, imprisoned, and deprived ; and in the two others, they were great instruments, under God, for preserving our religion and liberty.

In the same paragraph, which contains a project for turning out the present ministry, and restoring the last, he owns, that the queen is now served with more obsequious words, more humble adorations, and a more seeming resignation to her will and pleasure, than she was before. And indeed, if this be not true, her majesty has the worst luck of any prince in Christendom. The reverse of these phrases I take to be rude expressions, insolent behaviour, and a real opposition to her majesty's most just and reasonable commands, which are the mildest terms that the demeanour of some late persons toward their prince, can deserve, in return of the highest favours that subjects ever received, whereof a hundred particulars might be produced. So that, according to

our author's way of reasoning, I will put a parallel case in my turn. I have a servant to whom I am exceedingly kind, I reward him infinitely above his merit: beside which, he and his family snap every thing they can lay their hands on; they will let none come near me, but themselves and dependants; they misrepresent my best friends, as my greatest enemies, besides, they are so saucy and malapert, there is no speaking to them, so far from any respect, that they treat me as an inferior. At last I pluck up spirit, turn them all out of doors, and take in new ones, who are content with what I allow them, though I have less to spare than formerly. give me their best advice when I ask it, are constantly in the way, do what I bid them, make a bow when they come in and go out, and always give me a respectful answer. I suppose the writer of the letter would tell me, that my present domestics were indeed a little more civil, but the former were better servants.

There are two things wherewith this author is peculiarly angry: first, at the licentious way of the scum of mankind treating the greatest peers in the nation: secondly, that these hedge-writers (a phrase I unwillingly lend him, because it cost me some pains to invent) seldom speak a word against any of the late ministry, but they presently fall to compliment my lord treasurer, and others in great places. On the first, he brings but one instance. but I could produce a good many hundred. What does he think of the *Observer*, the *Review*, and the *Medley*? in his own impartial judgment, may not they as fairly bid for being the scum of mankind, as the *Examiner*? and have they not treated at least as many, and almost as great peers, in as infamous a manner? I grant

indeed, that through the great defect of truth, genius, learning, and common sense, among the libellers of that party, they being of no entertainment to the world, after serving the present turn, were immediately forgotten. But this we can remember in gross, that there was not a great man in England, distinguished for his love to the monarchy or the church, who, under the appellations of Tory, jacobite, high-flyer, and other cant words, was not represented as a public enemy, and laden by name with all manner of obloquy. Nay, have they not even disturbed the ashes, and endeavoured to blast the memories of the dead, and chiefly of those who lost their lives in the service of the monarchy and the church? His other quarrel is at our flattering my lord treasurer, and other great persons in power. To which I shall only say, for every line written in praise of the present ministry, I will engage to furnish the author with three pages of the most fulsome panegyrics on the least deserving members of the last; which is somewhat more than by the proportion of time, while they were in power, could fall to their share. Indeed, I am apt to think, that the men of wit at least, will be more sparing in their incense of this kind for the future, and say no more of any great man, now at the helm, than they believe he deserves. Poems, dedications, and other public encomiums, might be of use to those who were obliged to keep up an unnatural spirit in the nation, by supplying it with art; and consequently the authors deserved, and sometimes met, encouragement and reward. But those great patriots, now at the head of affairs, are sufficiently supported by the uncompelled favour of the queen, and the natural disposition of the people. We can do them no service by our applauses, and

therefore expect no payment ; so that I look upon this kind of stock to have fallen at least ninety per cent since the great changes at court.

He puts a few questions, which I am in some pain to answer "Cannot," says he, "the successors be excellent men, unless the predecessors be villains?" cannot the queen change her ministers, but they must presently be such as neither God nor man can endure? do noblemen fall from all honour, virtue, and religion, because they are so unhappy as to fall from their prince's favour?" I desire to say something, in the first place, to this last question, which I answer in the negative. However, he will own, that "men should fall from their prince's favour, when they are so unhappy as to fall from all honour, virtue, and religion," though I must confess my belief, at the same time, that some certain persons have lately fallen from favour, who could not, for a very manifest reason, be said, properly speaking, to fall from any of the other three. To his other questions I can only say, that the constant language of the Whig pamphleteers has been, this twelve-month past, to tell us, how dangerous a step it was to change the ministry at so nice a juncture; to shake our credit, disoblige our allies, and encourage the French. Then this author tells us, that those discarded politicians were the greatest ministers we ever had, his brethren have said the same thing a hundred times. On the other side, the queen, upon long deliberation, was resolved to part with them; the universal voice of the people was against them, her majesty is the most mild and gracious prince that ever reigned; we have been constantly victorious, and are ruined; the enemy flourishes under his perpetual losses. If these be the consequences of an able, faithful,

diligent, and dutiful administration; of that astonishing success, he says, Providence has crowned us with, what can be those of one directly contrary? But, not to enter into a wide field at present, I faithfully promise the author of the letter, his correspondents, his patrons, and his brethren, that this mystery of iniquity shall be very shortly laid open to the view of the world; when the most ignorant and prejudiced reader will, I hope, be convinced, by facts not to be controlled, how miserably this poor kingdom had been deluded to the very brink of destruction.

He would have it, that the people of England have lost their senses; are bewitched and cheated, mad and without understanding: But that all this will go off by degrees, and then his great men will recover their esteem and credit. I did, in one of my papers, overthrow this idle affected opinion, which has been a thousand times urged by those whomost wished, and least believed it; I there shewed the difference between a short madness of the people, and their natural bent or genius. I remember, when King James II. went from England, he left a paper behind him, with expressions much to the same purpose; hoping, among other things, that God would open the eyes of the nation. Too much zeal for his religion brought us then in danger of popery and arbitrary power; too much infidelity, avarice, and ambition, brought us lately into equal danger of atheism and anarchy. The people have not yet opened their eyes, to see any advantage in the two former; nor, I hope, will ever find their senses enough to discover the blessings of the two latter. Cannot I see things in another light than this author and his party do, without being blind? is my understanding lost when it differs

from theirs² am I cheated, bewitched, and out of my senses, because I think those to have been betrayers of our country, whom they call patriots²

He hopes his seven correspondents will never want their places; but is in pain for the poor kingdom lest their places should want them. Now I have examined this matter, and am not at all discouraged. Two of them hold their places still,^{*} and are likely to continue in them; two more were governors of islands,[†] I believe the author does not imagine those to be among the places which will want men to fill them. God be thanked, a man may command the beef-eaters without being a soldier, I will at any time undertake to do it myself. Then it would be a little hard, if the queen should be at a loss for a steward[‡] to her family. So that, upon the whole, I see but one great employment[§] which is in any danger of wanting a sufficient person to execute it. We must do as well as we can, yet I have been told, that the bare business of presiding in council does not require such very transcendent abilities; and I am mistaken, if, till within these late years, we have not been some ages without that office. So that I hope things may go well enough, provided the keeper, treasurer, and both the secretaries, will do their duties, and it is happy for the nation, that none of their seven lordships left any of those places to want them

* The Duke of Somerset, grand master of the horse

† The Earl of Wharton, removed from the lieutenancy of Ireland.

‡ From which office the Earl of Devonshire had been removed.

§ That of president of the council, which Lord Somers had occupied.

The writer of the letter concludes it with “ an appeal to all the princes and states of Europe, friends and enemies, by name, to give their judgement, whether they think the late ministry were wanting in faithfulness, abilities, or diligence, to serve their prince and country ?” Now, if he speaks by order of his party, I am humbly of opinion, they have incurred a *præmunire*, for appealing to a foreign jurisdiction, and her majesty may seize their goods and chattels whenever she pleases. In the mean time, I will not accept his appeal, which has been rejected by the queen and both houses of parliament. But, let a fair jury be empannelled in any county of England, and I will be determined by their verdict. First, he names the king of France and all his counsellors, with the pretender and all his favourers and abettors. These I except against, I know they will readily judge the late ministry to be faithful, able, and diligent, in serving their prince and country. The counsels of some people have, in their way, served very much to promote the service of the pretender, and to enable the French king to assist him, and is not he, in that monarch’s opinion as well as his own, their lawful prince ? I except against the emperor and the states ; because it can be proved upon them, that the plaintiffs and they have an understanding together. I except against any prince who makes unreasonable demands, and threatens to recall his troops if they be not complied with ; because they have been forced of late to change their language, and may perhaps be shortly obliged to observe their articles more strictly. I should be sorry, for the appellants’ sakes, to have their case referred to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, who infallibly would decree them to be all hanged up for

their insolence to their sovereign. But, above all, the king of Spain would certainly be against them, when he considers with how scandalous a neglect his interests have been managed ; and that the full possession of his kingdom was made a sacrifice to those, whose private or party interest swayed them to the continuance of the war. The author had reason to omit the grand seignior and czar in the list of his judges , the decrees of those princes are too sudden and sanguinary ; and their lessons to instruct subjects in behaviour to their princes, by strangling them with a bowstring, or flinging them to be devoured alive by hogs, were enough to deter them from submitting to their jurisdiction.

A NEW
JOURNEY TO PARIS :

TOGETHER WITH SOME
SECRET TRANSACTIONS

BETWEEN
THE FRENCH KING

AND
AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN.

BY
THE SIEUR DU BAUDRIER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

“I had rather be thought a good Englishman, than the best Poet, or
the greatest Scholar, that ever wrote”

PRIOR, Preface to “SOLOMON”

A NEW JOURNEY TO PARIS, &c.

IN 1710-11, the Tory ministry, whose principles and situation laid them under a necessity of making peace with France, contrived to open a communication with that country by means of the Abbé Gualtier, an obscure priest, agent for the French prisoners of war. When matters were thus prepared for the intervention of a more accredited envoy, the celebrated Matthew Prior, whose previous acquaintance with diplomacy fitted him for such a trust, and whose rank was not such as to make his motions observed, was dispatched by the British ministry upon a secret embassy to France. It is said, that this step was proposed by Mons. de Torcy, through the medium of the Earl of Jersey, and that Mr Prior held an interview with that minister at or near Calais, and immediately returned to England. Notwithstanding every precaution which had been taken to prevent discovery, Prior was recognized upon his landing, and detained by the custom-house officers at Deal, until released by orders from their superiors. This discovery was likely to prove embarrassing to the ministers, who neither were in a situation to avow the negotiation, nor durst venture to leave unappeased the feverish thirst for political intelligence, which always has characterized the English nation. In this dilemma, Swift, "who oil-ed many a spring that Harley moved," came to the assistance of his patrons with the following pamphlet, which, without communicating a syllable of real intelligence, had the effect of at once amusing the idle, confusing the suspicious, and sounding the temper of the nation at large upon the subject of a negotiation. He himself gives the following account of the piece.

"I have just thought of a project to bite the town. I have told you, that it is now known that Mr Prior has been lately in France. I will make a printer of my own sit by me one day; and will dictate to him a formal relation of Prior's journey, with several particulars, all pure invention; and I doubt not but it will take." *Journal to Stella* Aug 31, 1711.

"This morning the printer sent me an account of Prior's journey; it makes a twopenny pamphlet: I suppose you will see it,

for I daie say it will run. It is a formal grave lie, from the beginning to the end. I wrote all but the last page, that I dictated, and the printer wrote. Mr Secretary sent to me, to dine where he did: it was at Prior's. When I came in, Prior showed me the pamphlet, seemed to be angry, and said, 'Here is our English liberty!' I read some of it, said, 'I liked it mightily, and envied the rogue the thought, for, had it come into my head, I should certainly have done it myself.'—*Ibid.* Sept. 11.

"The printer told me he sold yesterday a thousand of 'Prior's Journey,' and had printed five hundred more. It will do rarely, I believe, and is a pure bite."—*Ibid.* Sept. 12.

"Prior's Journey sells still; they have sold two thousand, although the town is empty."—*Ibid.* Sept. 24.

"There came out some time ago an account of Mr Prior's journey to France, pretended to be a translation; it is a pure invention from the beginning to the end. I will let your Grace into the secret of it. The clamours of a party against any peace without Spain, and railing at the ministry as if they designed to ruin us, occasioned that production, out of indignity and contempt, by way of furnishing fools with something to talk of; and it has had a very great effect."—*Letter to Abp. King*, Oct. 1, 1711.

Although Swift, even to Stella, represents the "Journey to Paris" as mere pleasantry, it was certainly written with a more serious purpose. The cession of Spain to the House of Austria, upon which the former treaty at Gertruydenberg had broken of, is artfully alluded to, and, from the mode in which that part of Mr Prior's supposed conference should be received, ministers might be enabled to judge whether they might venture to abandon Spain to the House of Bourbon in the event of a peace. In other respects, the high tone imputed to the British agent, was calculated to assure the public, that their rights were under the management of those who would not compromise the national dignity, while the extreme anxiety of the French king and ministers for a peace, necessarily inferred that Britain might have one on her own terms.

When the imposition was discovered, the Whig pamphleteers were outrageous. At first, they doubted whether to fix the pamphlet upon Swift or De Foe and indeed the minute incidents in the narrative of the *Sieur du Baudrier*, being such as seemingly would never have occurred to the author of a fiction, have much of the art with which De Foe has given circumstantial authenticity to "Robinson Crusoe," the "Memoirs of a Cavalier," and his other romances. But, as the pen of this author, however excellent in its line, was unequal to the fineness of the raillery preserved through the "Journey to Paris," it failed not soon to be ascribed to the right author. The writer of "Seasonable Remarks on a late Journey to Paris," thus notices Swift's pamphlet; upon which, indeed,

his own is a sort of commentary * "When this account was first published, which was the 11th instant," (the "Seasonable Remarks" are dated 30th September 1711,) people differed in their conjectures and opinions about it, some looking upon it as genuine, others, far the greater number, as fictitious. In this uncertainty the generality still continue. But such as are pretty well acquainted with the secret springs of affairs, have assured me, that, though it be not an exact faithful relation of Mr Prior's negociation, it contains, however, many true circumstances of his journey. I am further informed, that this supposed letter of Mons. du Baudrier was written by Dr Swift, formerly chaplain to Sir William Temple, whose letters and posthumous works he has published, and who has since made himself yet more known, as well by some miscellaneous essays, which he owns, as by a more ingenious piece which is fathered upon him. As to his character, it is very ambiguous, and even contradictory for as ambition is predominant in him, sways all his other passions, and directs his designs, so he is this day a Whig, the next a Tory, haughty and stiff with most men, cringing and obsequious with those in power. This single passage will characterise him better than any picture I can draw. Big with expectation of high preferment, he attended the Earl of Wharton in Ireland, and the better, as he fondly thought, to merit the patronage of the then reigning party, he, now and then, wrote several lampoons; one of which, levelled against the present lord-treasurer, and inserted, if my memory fails me not, in one of the Tatlers, about a year ago, a friend of mine saw in his handwriting at Dublin a month before.† But, upon the late revolution in the ministry, our Tantivy immediately tacked about, and, with Mr Prior, Dr Freind, and some others, who devoted themselves and their pens to the service of the present ministry, or, to speak more properly, of the hot men of the high-church, was employed, by way of probation, to write *The Examiner*—that is, to aggravate the failings of the late favourite, and the pretended miscarriages of the Whig ministry, with all the heightenings of rhetoric and malice, to inveigh against them with suitable bitterness, and to involve the whole Whig party in the general accusation" Having given this candid account of the author, the remarker pro-

* The full title is, "An Account of the State and Progress of the present Negotiation of Peace, with the reasons for and against a partition of Spain, &c in a Letter to a Noble Lord in Worcestershire, 1711"

† This story is incredible for, were it true, with what countenance could Swift have publicly quarrelled with Steele for libelling Harley in the Tatler, knowing that such a retort was in that author's power, as this passage, if true, would have afforded him? But this aspersion has been more fully noticed in the Life of Swift.

nounces the account of "A Journey to Paris," to be designed as an *amusement*, "to let the world know *first*, what few people were ignorant of, viz that there was a negotiation on foot; and, in the *second* place, what some people doubted, that Mr Prior insisted on very high terms." And having censured the improbabilities, and false French, which, he says, are the peculiar faults of the relater, who has committed many such errors in his edition of Sir William Temple's Letters, he notices the reflections on the Duke of Marlborough, and adds, very indignantly, "'Tis not any thing Jonathan can ever say will be a reflection upon the last ministry, or a merit with the present, who know him to be as unsettled in his politics as in his religion, or rather that he knows as little of the one as he believes of the other. 'Tis pleasant to hear a divine tell the world, how well or ill he stands with statesmen, as this Tantivy says, that the suspicion he lay under for writing a letter concerning the sacramental test, had absolutely ruined him with the late ministry, when indeed he was intimate with none of them, upon any other score than as he is with one or two now in place, that is, as a scandal-bearer and buffoon. His ridiculous pretensions to an envoyship in one of the first courts of Europe, was the thing that made him pass with them at last for a crack-brained fellow, whereas he was only remarkable before for such a vein of lewdness, swearing, and profaneness, as never appeared in any other writing since the world began. To which, if we add his shameless inconsistency with himself, for which we refer to his works, we shall willingly grant him to be a nonpareil. But no more of this tool, who puts in at present for plenipotentiary."

The reader may consider this as a sufficient sample of the abuse with which Swift was overwhelmed for a tract, which, politically speaking, was one of the least offensive of that angry period, and would, at any other time, have been laughed at by both sides as an inoffensive pleasantry. Indeed, there are few, even of Swift's more celebrated writings, in which the peculiarity of his grave humour is more conspicuous. The affected Gallicisms and blunders, with respect to the most common and notorious points belonging to his English *dramatis personæ*, mark the genius of a people who think nothing belonging to their neighbours worthy of being learned with accuracy.* Writing, too, in the character of a French

* This indifference to accuracy is not peculiar to persons of the supposed Mons du Baudrier's rank in life, but pervades the writings even of such Frenchmen as, devoting themselves professionally to literature, have condescended to treat of English affairs. From Froissart to the present day, their works are full of errors, which can only arise from their not esteeming the truth of any importance. Varillius, for example, in his history of heresy, has

valet, who was desirous of representing himself as a secretary, and who, in declaring the menial offices in which he was employed, affects to have condescended to them solely from his own obliging temper. Swift has displayed, without much exaggeration, all the whimsical conceit of such a character. There is great ingenuity also, in choosing such a person as the narrator of an imperfect tale. A real secretary must have been able, if willing, to have told much of the secret, and an ordinary English attendant would have known nothing of the matter. But Mons. du Baudrier's supposed situation removed him from real confidence; while the meddling and inquisitive disposition, proper to such a coxcomb, might make him likely enough, both to glean up, and to communicate, such shreds and patches of information, as Swift thought it advisable to detail in the "New Journey to Paris." Swift complains, in his "Journal to Stella," that the propriety and effect of this humorous narrative was, in some degree, injured by a romantic and incredible incident in the conclusion, which, in his hurry, had been left to another hand. The passage seems to be that in which a marquis is introduced begging on the highway, which, though since kept in countenance by Sterne's Chevalier de St Louis selling pastry, is an incident too highly coloured for the grave and sober figments of the preceding narrative.

(besides producing a King Stephen the *Second*, hitherto a stranger to our annals) made some of the most notable blunders, with respect to times, places, dates, and names, that ever disgraced a book with history in its title page.

THE

TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

THE original of the following discourse was transmitted to me three days ago from the Hague, to which town it was sent from France, but in the title-page there was no mention of the place where it was printed, only the author's name at length, and the year of our Lord. That the tract is genuine, I believe no person will doubt. You see all along the vanity of that nation, in a mean man giving himself the airs of a secretary, when it appears, by several circumstances, that he was received only as a menial servant. It were to be wished, the author had been one of more importance, and farther trusted in the secrets of his master's negotiation, but, to make amends, he informs us of several particulars, which one of more consequence would not have given himself the trouble about; and the particulars are such, as we at home will perhaps be curious to know; not to mention, that he gives us much light into some things that are of great moment; and by his not pretending to know more, we cannot doubt the truth of what he relates.

It is plain, he waited at table, carried his master's *valise*, and attended in his bed chamber; though he takes care to tell us, that Monsieur

Prior made many excuses and apologies, because these mean offices appear very inconsistent with the character of secretary, which he would seem to set up for

I shall make no reflections on this important affair, nor upon the consequences we may expect from it To reason upon secrets of state, without knowing all the springs and motions of them, is too common a talent among us, and the foundation of a thousand errors. Here is room enough for speculations; but I advise the reader to let them serve for his own entertainment, without troubling the world with his remarks.

TO

MONSIEUR MONSIEUR —,

AT

ESTAPLE.*



SIR,

I DOUBT not but you are curious, as many others are, to know the secret of Monsieur Prior an English gentleman's late journey from London to Paris. Perhaps living retired as you do, you may not have heard of this person, though some years ago he was very much distinguished at Paris, and in good esteem even with our august monarch. I must let you so far into his character, as to tell you, that Monsieur Prior has signalized himself, both as an eminent poet, and man of business; was very much valued by the late king William, who employed him in important affairs, both in England and Holland. He was secretary to the English embassy, at the treaty of Ryswick; and afterward, to my lords the counts of Portland and Jersey, and in the absence of the latter, managed

* A sea port town in the Boulonnois. *Swift.*

for some time the affairs of England at our court by himself. Since the reign of Queen Anne, he was employed as commissioner of trade; but the ministry changing soon after Queen Anne's coming to the crown, Monsieur Prior, who was thought too much attached to the *rigides*,* was laid aside; and lived privately at Cambridge,† where he is a professor, till he was recalled by the present ministry

About two months ago, our king,‡ resolving once more to give peace to Europe, notwithstanding the flourishing condition of his fleets and armies, the good posture of his finances, that his grandson was almost entirely settled in the quiet possession of Spain, and that the affairs of the north were changing every day to his advantage; offered the court of England to send a minister as far as Boulogne, who should be there met by some person from England, to treat the overtures of a peace. Upon the first notice that this was agreed to, the king immediately dispatched Monsieur de Torcy, in whom he very much confides, to Boulogne, where he took lodging at a private house in the Fauxbourg, at one Mr de Marais, a marchand de soy, who is married to an English woman, that formerly had been a *servante* to one§ of the fore-mentioned English ambassadors' ladies, over against

* Tories.

† A mistake of the author, for Monsieur Prior did not retire to Cambridge, nor is a professor, but a fellow. *Swift*

‡ Lewis XIV.

§ Probably the Countess of Jersey, who was a Roman catholic. In the remarks upon the pamphlet quoted in the introduction, the overtures of peace are said to have been "first made to the Earl of Jersey, by his old acquaintance the Marquis de Torcy."

the hostellerie de St Jean Monsieur stayed six days with much impatience ; when, late at evening, on Wednesday the 14th of July (new style,) a person, whom we afterward knew to be Monsieur Prior, came directly to the door, and inquired for Monsieur de la Bastide, the name and place, I suppose, having been before concerted. He was immediately shown unto Monsieur Torcy ; where, as I am informed, they were shut up for three hours together, without any refreshment, though Monsieur Prior had rid post from Calais that day in a great deal of rain. The next morning I was sent for, in all haste, by Monsieur de Marais, who told me, "that a person of quality, as he suspected, lately come from England, had some occasion for a secretary ; and, because he knew I understood the languages, wrote a tolerable hand, had been conversant with persons of quality, and formerly trusted with secrets of importance, had been so kind to recommend me to the said gentleman, to serve him in that quality." I was immediately called up, and presented to Mr Prior ; who accosted me with great civility, and, after some conversation, was pleased to tell me, "I had fully answered the character Monsieur de Marais had given me." From this time, to the day Monsieur Prior left Calais in order to return to England, I may pretend to give you a faithful account of all his motions, and some probable conjectures of his whole negotiation between Boulogne and Versailles

But perhaps, sir, you may be farther curious to know the particulars of Monsieur Prior's journey to Boulogne. It is reported, that some time before the peace of Ryswick, King William did dispatch this very gentleman to Paris, upon the same account for which he now came. This pos-

sibly might be the motive (beside the known abilities of Monsieur Prior) to send him a second time. The following particulars I heard in discourse between Mademoiselle de Marais and her husband; which, being no great secrets on our side the water, I suppose were told without consequence.

Monsieur Prior, having his instructions from the English court, under pretence of taking a short journey of pleasure, and visiting the Chevalier de H——,* in the province of Suffolk, left his house on Sunday night, the 11th of July, N. S. taking none of his servants with him. Monsieur M——, who had already prepared a bark, with all necessaries, on the coast of Dover, took Monsieur Prior disguised in his chaïot. They lay on Monday night, the 12th of July, at the Count de Jersey's house in Kent; arrived in good time the next day at Dover, dived directly to the shore, made the sign by waving their hats, which was answered by the vessel; and the boat was immediately sent to take him in: which he entered, wrapt in his cloak, and soon got aboard. He was six hours at sea, and arrived at Calais about eleven at night, went immediately to the governor, who received him with great respect, where he lay all night; and set out pretty late the next morning, being somewhat incommoded with his voyage; and then took post for Boulogne, as I have before related.

In the first conversation I had the honour to have with Monsieur Prior, he was pleased to talk as if he would have occasion for my service but a very few days; and seemed resolved, by his dis-

* Sir Thomas Hanmer.

course, that, after he had dispatched his commission with Monsieur de la Bastide (for so we shall from henceforward call that minister) he would return to England. By this I found I should have but little employment in quality of secretary; however, having heard so great a character of him, I was willing to attend him in any capacity he pleased. Four days we continued at Boulogne, where Monsieur de la Bastide and Monsieur P1101 had two long conferences every day from ten to one at noon, and from six till nine in the evening. Monsieur P1101 did me the honour to send me some meat and wine constantly from his own table. Upon the third morning, I was ordered to attend early; and observed Monsieur P1101 to have a pleasant countenance. He asked me, "What I thought of a journey to England?" and commanded me to be ready at an hour's warning. But, upon the fourth evening, all this was changed; and I was directed to hire the best horse I could find for myself.

We set out early the next day, Sunday the 18th, for Paris, in Monsieur de la Bastide's chaise, whose two attendants and myself made up the equipage, but a small *valise*, which I suppose contained Monsieur P1101's instructions, he was pleased to trust to my care, to carry on horseback; which trust I discharged with the utmost faithfulness.

Somewhat above two leagues from Boulogne, at a small village called Neile, the axletree broke, which took us two hours to mend; we baited at Montreuil, and lay that night at Abbeville. But I shall not give you any detail of our journey, which passed without any considerable accident till we arrived within four leagues of Paris; when, about three in the afternoon, two cavaliers, well

mounted, and armed with pistols, crossed the road, then turned short, and rode up briskly to the chaise, commanding the coachman to stop. Monsieur de la Bastide's two attendants were immediately up with them; but I, who guessed at the importance of the charge that Monsieur Prior had entrusted me with, though I was in no fear for my own person, thought it most prudent to advance with what speed I could to a small village, about a quarter of a league forward, to wait the event. I soon observed the chaise to come on without any disturbance, and I ventured to meet it; when I found that it was only a fiolic of two young cadets of quality, who had been making a debauch at a friend's house hard by, and were returning to Paris: one of them was not unknown to Monsieur de la Bastide. The two cavaliers began to rally me, said, "I knew how to make a retreat," with some other pleasanties. but Monsieur Prior (who knew the cause) highly commended my discretion. We continued our journey very merrily; and arrived at Paris on Tuesday the 20th, in the cool of the evening.

At the entrance of the town, our two cavaliers left us; and Monsieur de la Bastide conducted Monsieur Prior to a private lodging in the Rue St Louis, which, by all circumstances, I concluded to be prepared for his reception. Here I first had orders to say, that the gentleman to whom I had the honour to belong was called Monsieur Matthews;* I then knew no otherwise.

* Hence a song called "Matt's Peace, or the Downfall of Trade."

The news from abroad does a secret reveal,
Which has been confirmed both at Dover and Deal,
That one Master Matthews, once called plain Mat,
Has been doing at Paris the Lord knoweth what, &c.

Afterward, at Versailles, I overheard, in conversation with Monsieur de la Bastide, that his real name was PRIOR.

Monsieur de la Bastide would have had Monsieur Matthews to have gone with him next morning to Versailles, but could not prevail with him to comply; of which I could never be able to learn the reason. Our minister was very importunate; and Monsieur Prior seemed to have no fatigue remaining from his journey perhaps he might conceive it more suitable to his dignity, that Monsieur de la Bastide should go before, to prepare the king, by giving notice of his arrival. However it were, Monsieur de la Bastide made all haste to Versailles, and returned the same night. During his absence, Monsieur Prior never stirred out of his chamber; and, after dinner, did me the honour to send for me up, "that I might bear him company," as he was pleased to express it. I was surprised to hear him wondering at the misery he had observed in our country, in his journey from Calais; at the scarcity and poverty of the inhabitants, "which," he said, "did much exceed even what he had seen in his former journey;" for he owned that he had been in France before. He seemed to value himself very much upon the happiness of his own island, which, as he pretended, had felt no effects like these upon trade or agriculture.

I made bold to return for answer, "That in our nation, we only consulted the magnificence and power of our prince; but that in England, as I was informed, the wealth of the kingdom was so divided among the people, that little or nothing was left to their sovereign; and that it was confidently told, (though hardly believed in France) that some subjects had palaces more mag-

nificent than Queen Anne herself * that I hoped, when he went to Versailles, he would allow the grandeur of our potent monarch to exceed, not only that of England, but any other in Europe, by which he would find, that what he called the poverty of our nation, was rather the effect of policy in our court, than any real want or necessity "

Monsieur Prior had no better answer to make me, than, " That he was no stranger to our court, the splendour of our prince, and the maxims by which he governed ; but, for his part, he thought those countries were happier, where the productions of it were more equally divided." Such unaccountable notions is the prejudice of education apt to give ! In these and the like discourses, we wore away the time till Monsieur de la Bastide's return ; who, after an hour's private conference with Monsieur Prior, which I found by their countenances had been warmly pursued on both sides, a chariot and six horses (to my great surprise) were instantly ordered, wherein the two ministers entered, and drove away with all expedition, myself only attending on horseback with my important *vahse*.

We got to Versailles on Wednesday the 21st, about eleven at night ; but, instead of entering the town, the coachman drove us a back way into the fields, till we stopped at a certain vineyard, that I afterward understood joined to the gardens of Madame Maintenon's lodgings. Here the two gentlemen alighted. Monsieur Prior, calling to me, bade me search in the *vahse* for a small box of writings ; after which, the coach-

* A sly allusion to the splendour of Blenheim.

man was ordered to attend in that place; and we proceeded on some paces, till we stopped at a little postern, which opened into the vineyard, whereof Monsieui de la Bastide had the key. He opened it very readily, and shut it after them; desiring me to stay till their return.

I waited with some impatience for three hours: the great clock struck two before they came out. The coachman, who, I suppose, had his instructions before, as soon as they were got into the chariot, drove away to a small house at the end of the town, where Monsieur de la Bastide left us to ourselves. I observed Monsieur Prior was very thoughtful, and without entering into any conversation, desired my assistance to put him to bed. Next morning, Thursday the 22d, I had positive orders not to stir abroad. About ten o'clock, Monsieui de la Bastide came. The house being small, my apartment was divided from Monsieur Prior's by a thin wainscot, so that I could easily hear what they said, when they raised their voice, as they often did. After some time, I could hear Monsieur de la Bastide say, with great warmth, *Bon Dieu!* &c. "Good God! were ever such demands made to a great monarch, unless you were at the gates of his metropolis? For the love of God, Monsieur Prior, relax something, if your instructions will permit you, else I shall despair of any good success in our negotiation. Is it not enough that our king will abandon his grandson, but he must lend his own arm to pull him out of the throne?"* Why did you not open

* The treaty of Gertruydenberg, broke off on account of the restitution of Spain to the House of Austria, Louis XIV. offered, though his sincerity may be doubted, not only to consent that his grandson,

yourself to me at Boulogne? Why are you more inexorable here at Versailles? you have risen in your demands, by seeing Madame Maintenon's desire for a peace! As able as you are to continue the war, consider which is to be most preferred, the good of your country, or the particular advantage of your general, for he will be the only gainer among your subjects" Monsieur Prior, who has a low voice, and had not that occasion for passion, answered so softly, that I could not well understand him, but, upon parting, I heard him say, "If you insist still on these difficulties, my next audience will be that of leave."

Three hours after, Monsieur de la Bastide returned again, with a countenance more composed. He asked Mr Prior, if he would give him leave to dine with him? Having no attendants, I readily offered my service at table,⁴ which Monsieur Prior was pleased to accept, with abundance of apologies. I found they were come to a better understanding. Mr Prior has a great deal of wit and vivacity; he entertained Monsieur de la Bastide with much pleasantly, notwithstanding their being upon the reserve before me. "That Monsieur," says Mr Matthews, "if he were *un particulier*, would be the most agreeable person in the world." I imagined they spoke of the king;

the Duke of Anjou, should be deprived of the crown of Spain, but, in case of resistance on the part of his Spanish adherents, he agreed to pay a proportion of the troops which the allies might employ in his abdication. But he refused to engage his own forces upon such a service.

⁴ By this and some other preceding particulars, we may discover what sort of secretary the author was.—*Swift*.

but, going often in and out, I could not preserve the connection of their discourse " Did you mind how obligingly he enquired, whether our famous Chevalier Newton was still living? He told me, my good friend poor Despieaux* was dead since I was in France; and asked me after Queen Anne's health " These are some of the particulars I overheard while at dinner; which confirmed my opinion, that Monsieur Prior last night had an audience of his majesty

About ten that evening, Monsieur de la Bastide came to take Monsieur Matthews, to go to the same place where they were at before. I was permitted to enter the vineyard, but not the gardens, being left at the gate to wait their return; which was in about two hours time The moon shone bright; and by Monsieur Matthews's manner, I thought he appeared somewhat dissatisfied. When he came into his chamber, he threw off his hat in some passion, folded his arms, and walked up and down the room for above an hour, extremely pensive: at length he called to be put to bed, and ordered me to set a candle by his

* Prior was, in sober truth, personally acceptable to Louis XIV. who had seen him frequently at his court. He was also well known to Boileau Despieaux, and, notwithstanding the imitable burlesque translation which Prior had made of the French poet's ode, *Sur la prise de Namur*, they were upon as friendly terms as the Laureat of Louis could be with the Encomiast of William In his letter to Boileau upon the victory of Blenheim, Prior thus states their connection.

I grant old friend, old foe, for such we are,
Alternate as the chance of peace and war

And the whole poem throughout, on a subject so unpleasant to French ears, is expressed in terms personally flattering to Boileau. The interest taken by Louis in learning and learned men, was one of the most pleasing points in his character.

bed-side, and to fetch him some papers out of his *valise* to read.

On Friday the 23d, in the morning, Monsieur Matthews was so obliging to call me to him; with the assurance, that he was extremely pleased with my discretion and manner of address; as a proof of which satisfaction, he would give me leave to satisfy my curiosity with seeing so fine a place as Versailles; telling me, "he should return next day toward Boulogne; and therefore advised me to go immediately to view the palace, with this caution, (though he did not suppose I needed it) not to say anything of the occasion that brought me to Versailles"

Monsieur de la Bastide having staid the afternoon with Monsieur Matthews, about eight o'clock they went to the rendezvous. My curiosity had led me in the morning to take a stricter view of the vineyard and gardens. I remained at the gate as before. In an hour and a half's time, Monsieur Matthews, with Monsieur de la Bastide, another gentleman, and a lady, came into the walk. De la Bastide opened the gate, and held it some time in his hand. While Monsieur Matthews was taking his leave of those persons, I heard the lady say, at parting, *Monsieur, songez vous*, &c. "Consider this night on what we have said to you." The gentleman seconded her; saying, *Ouy, ouy, monsieur, songez vous en pour la derniere fois*. "Ay, ay, sir, consider of it for the last time." To which Monsieur Matthews answered briskly, in going out, *Sire, tout ou rien*, &c. "Sir, all or none, as I have had the honour to tell your majesty before." Which puts it beyond dispute what the quality of those persons were, by whom Monsieur Matthews had the honour to be entertained.

On Saturday the 24th, Monsieur Matthews kept close as before; telling me "a post chaise was ordered, to carry him to Calais; and he would do me the grace to take me with him, to keep him company in the journey, for he should leave Monsieur de la Bastide at Versailles." While we were discoursing, that gentleman came in, with an open air, and a smiling countenance. He embraced Monsieur Matthews, and seemed to feel so much joy, that he could not easily conceal it. I left the chamber, and retired to my own; whence I could hear him say, "Couage, Monsieur. no travelling to-day. Madame Manton will have me once more conduct you to her." After which I was called, and received orders about dinner, &c. Monsieur de la Bastide told me, "We should set out about midnight." He staid the rest of the day with Monsieur Matthews. About ten o'clock they went forth, but dispensed with my attendance; it was one in the morning before they returned, though the chaise was at the gate soon after eleven. Monsieur Matthews took a morsel of bread, and a large glass of Hermitage wine, after which they embraced with much kindness, and so parted.

Our journey to Calais passed without any accident worth informing you. Mr Prior, who is of a constitution somewhat tender, was troubled with a rheum, which made speaking uneasy to him. but it was not so at all to me, and therefore I entertained him, as well as I could, chiefly with the praises of our great monarch, the magnificence of his court, the number of his attendants, the awe and veneration paid him by his generals and ministers, and the immense riches of the kingdom. One afternoon, in a small village between Chaumont and Beauvais, as I was

discoursing on this subject, several poor people followed the chaise, to beg our charity : one louder than the rest, a comely person, about fifty, all in rags, but with a mien that showed him to be of a good house, cried out, *Monsieur, pour l'amour de Dieu*, &c. " Sir, for the love of God, give something to the Marquis de Souidis ! " Mr Prior, half asleep, roused himself up at the name of Marquis, called the poor gentleman to him, and, observing something in his behaviour like a man of quality, very generously threw him a pistole. As the coach went on, Monsieur Prior asked me, with much surprise, " Whether I thought it possible that unhappy creature could be *un veritable marquis* ;* for, if it were so, surely the miseries of our country must be much greater than even our very enemies could hope or believe ? " I made bold to tell him, " That I thought we could not well judge from particulars to generals ; and that I was sure there were great numbers of marquises in France, who had ten thousand livres a-year."† I tell you this passage, to let you see, that the wisest men have some prejudices of their country about them. We got to Calais on Wednesday the 28th in the evening, and the next morning (the 29th) I took my leave of Monsieur Prior ; who, thanking me in the civillest manner in the world for the service I had done him, very nobly made me a present of fifty pistoles ; and so we parted. He put to sea with a fair wind, and, I suppose, in a few hours landed in England.

* A real Marquis.

† This seems to be referred to where Swift says in his *Journal*, 13th September 1711, " The two last pages which the printer had got somebody to add, are so romantic, they spoil all the rest.

This, sir, is the utmost I am able to inform you about Monsieur Prior's journey and negotiation. Time alone will let us know the events of it, which are yet in the dark.

I am,

SIR,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,

DU BAUDRIER.



POSTSCRIPT, BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE author of this tract, having left his master on shipboard at Calais, had, it seems, no farther intelligence when he published it: neither am I able to supply it, but by what passes in common report; which, being in every body's mouth, but with no certainty, I think it needless to repeat

SOME
ADVICE
HUMBLY OFFERED TO THE
MEMBERS
OF THE
OCTOBER CLUB.

IN A LETTER FROM A PERSON OF HONOUR. *

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1711-12.

SOME ADVICE, &c.

THE October Club was a designation assumed by a society of about two hundred members of parliament, chiefly landed men and warm Tories. They met at the Bell Tavern in King-street, Westminster, and consulted chiefly upon the means of compelling ministers to make, what has been called in our days, *a clean sweep* of the Whigs from all places of post and power, and to bring some members of the late administration to public trial. The principal members of the October Club were,

John Aislabie,
Francis Annesley,
William Bromley,
Robert Byerley,
Henry Campion,
Charles Cæsar,
Sir Robert Davers,
Charles Eversfield,
Ralph Freeman,
Sir Thomas Hanmer,
John Hungertord,

Sir Justinian Isham,
George Lockhart,
Sir Roger Mortyn,
Sir John Packington,
Francis Scobel,
William Shippen,
Sir Thomas Thoiold,
John Trevanion,
Sir William Whitelock,
Sir William Windham.

The ministers beheld with great anxiety an association formed among those, who, on principle, ought to have supported them most warmly, for the purpose of thwarting, or, at least, dictating and precipitating their measures. Swift was accordingly employed to reclaim this seceding junto by the following Letter.

It was finished on the 14th January 1711-12, and Swift had the precaution to have it copied over by Ford, that he might not be discovered as the author. It did not at first produce the impression intended; for Swift writes to Stella, on the 28th, "the little twopenny letter of 'Advice to the October Club,' does not sell, I know the reason; for it is finely written, I assure you; and, like a true author, I grow fond of it, because it does not sell: you know that it is usual to writers to condemn the judgment of the world; if I had hinted it to be mine, every body would have

bought it, but it is a great secret." The public, however, found out an author for it, for the "Person of Honour" in the title page, was construed to be Lord Harcourt. On 1st February, Swift's Journal informs us, "the pamphlet of 'Advice to the October Club,' begins now to sell; but I believe its fame will hardly reach Ireland; 'tis finely written, I assure you."

The Letter is indeed finely written, and well calculated to answer the purpose of the author. The secrets of state, which could not be spoken out, are decently insinuated. He hints the queen's affection for the Duchess of Somerset, by means of which, many belonging to the routed party found support or protection, threatens them with the increasing power of the Whigs, the common enemy to them and the ministry; and cajoles them with the prospect of a gradual dismissal of the obnoxious office-holders, when their places should be filled up with the true friends of church and queen. In fine, the tract threw upon the state of parties and politics a sort of dubious twilight, particularly calculated for exercising the intellects of country gentlemen over their October ale; for, although these worthy members of the community cannot exist without news, the politics which are most clear and intelligible by no means afford them the greatest satisfaction.

THE
PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

ABOUT the year, when her late majesty, of blessed memory, thought proper to change her ministry, and brought in Mr Harley, Mr St John, Sir Simon Harcourt, and some others; the first of these being made an earl and lord treasurer, he was soon after blamed by the friends for not making a general sweep of all the Whigs, as the latter did of their adversaries upon her majesty's death, when they came into power. At that time a great number of parliament men, amounting to above two hundred, grew so warm upon the slowness of the treasurer in this part, that they formed themselves into a body under the name of the October Club, and had many meetings, to consult upon some methods that might spur on those in power, so that they might make a quicker dispatch in removing all of the Whig leaven from the employments they still possessed. To prevent the ill consequences of this discontent among so many worthy members, the rest of the ministry joined with the treasurer, partly to pacify, and partly divide those, who were in greater haste than moderate men thought convenient. It was

well known, that the supposed author met a considerable number of this club in a public house, where he convinced them, very plainly, of the treasurer's sincerity, with many of those very reasons which are urged in the following Discourse beside some others which were not so proper to appear at that time in print.

The treasurer alleged, in his defence, that such a treatment would not consist with prudence, because there were many employments to be bestowed, which required skill and practice, that several gentlemen, who possessed them, had been long versed, very loyal to her majesty, had never been violent party men, and were ready to fall into all honest measures for the service of their queen and country. But however, as offices became vacant, he would humbly recommend to her majesty such gentlemen, whose principles, with regard both to church and state, his friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their recommendations. Thus the earl proceeded in procuring employments for those who deserved them by their honesty, and abilities to execute them; which, I confess, to have been a singularity not very likely to be imitated. However, the gentlemen of this club still continued uneasy that no quicker progress was made in removals, until those who were least violent began to soften a little, or, by dividing them, the whole affair dropped. During this difficulty, we have been assured, that the following Discourse was very seasonably published with great success; showing the difficulties that the Earl of Oxford lay under, and his real desire, that all persons in employment should be true loyal churchmen, zealous for her majesty's honour and safety, as well as for the succession in the House of Hanover, if the queen

should happen to die without issue This Discourse having been published about the year 1711, and many of the facts forgotten, would not have been generally understood without some explanation, which we have now endeavoured to give, because it seems a point of history too material to be lost. We owe this piece of intelligence to an intimate of the supposed author.

SOME
A D V I C E
HUMBLY OFFERED TO
T H E M E M B E R S
OF THE
OCTOBER CLUB.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the first institution of your society, I have always thought you capable of the greatest things. Such a number of persons, members of parliament, true lovers of our constitution in church and state, meeting at certain times, and mixing business and conversation together, without the forms and constraint necessary to be observed in public assemblies, must very much improve each other's understanding, correct and fix your judgment, and prepare yourselves against any designs of the opposite party. Upon the opening of this session an incident has happened, to provide against the consequences whereof, will require your utmost vigilance and application. All this last summer, the enemy was working under ground, and laying their train; they gradually became more frequent and bold in their pamphlets and papers, while

those on our side were dropp'd, as if we had no farther occasion for them. Some time before, an opportunity fell into their hands, which they have cultivated ever since; and thereby have endeavour'd, in some sort, to turn those arts against us, which had been so effectually employed to their ruin. a plain demonstration of their superior skill at intrigue; to make a stratagem succeed a second time, and this even against those who first tried it upon them. I know not whether this opportunity I have mentioned could have been prevented by any care, without straining a very tender point; which those chiefly concern'd avoided by all means, because it might seem a counterpart of what they had so much condemn'd in their predecessors; although it is certain the two cases were widely different; and if policy had once got the better of good nature, all had been safe, for there was no danger in view; but the consequences of this were foreseen from the beginning; and those who kept the watch had early warning of it. It would have been a masterpiece of prudence, in this case, to have made a friend of an enemy. But whether that were possible to be compass'd, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to inquire.

He insinuates the queen's favour for the Duchess of Somerset, groom of the stole; by means of whose influence the Whigs hoped to undermine the Tory administration, as that of Lord Godolphin had been destroyed by the intrigues of Mrs Masham. The only mode of parrying the blow, seem'd to be the dismissal of the Duke and Duchess of Somerset from their posts near the queen's person. But, in insisting upon this, without the queen's full and voluntary concurrence, the ministers might seem to dictate to her the choice of her personal servants, which they had charg'd as peculiar insolence in the late ministry. See the *Journal* for December 1711.

All accommodation was rendered desperate, by an unlucky proceeding some months ago at Windsor,* which was a declaration of war, too frank and generous for that situation of affairs; and I am told was not approved of by a certain great minister. † It was obvious to suppose, that in a particular, where the honour and interest of a husband were so closely united with those of a wife, he might be sure of her utmost endeavours for his protection, although she neither loved nor esteemed him. The danger of losing power, favour, profit, and shelter from domestic tyranny, were strong incitements to stir up a working brain, early practised in all the arts of intriguing. Neither is it safe to count upon the weakness of any man's understanding, who is thoroughly possessed with the spirit of revenge, to sharpen his invention: nothing else is required beside obsequiousness and assiduity; which, as they are often the talents of those who have no better, so they are apt to make impressions upon the best and greatest minds.

It was no small advantage to the designing party, that, since the adventure at Windsor, the person on whom we so much depend, † was long absent by sickness; which hindered him from pursuing those measures, that ministers are in prudence forced to take, to defend their country and themselves against an irritated faction. The negociators on the other side improved this favourable conjuncture to the utmost; and, by an unparalleled boldness, accompanied with many

* An open rupture between Mrs Masham and the Duchess.

† The lord treasurer.

falsehoods, persuaded certain lords, (who were already in the same principle, but were afraid of making a wrong step, lest it should lead them out of their coaches into the dirt) that voting in appearance against the court, would be the safest course to avoid the danger they most apprehended, which was that of losing their pensions; and their opinions, when produced, by seemingly contradicting their interest, have an appearance of virtue into the bargain. This, with some arguments of more immediate power, went far in producing that strange unexpected turn we have so lately seen, and from which our adversaries reckoned upon such wonderful effects; and some of them, particularly my lord chief justice,* began to act as if all were already in their power.

But although the more immediate causes of this desertion were what I have above related, yet I am apt to think it would hardly have been attempted, or at least not have succeeded, but for a prevailing opinion, that the church party and the ministers had different views, or at least were not so firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly said, and I suppose not without some ground of truth, that many gentlemen of your club were discontented to find so little done; that they thought it looked as if the people were not in earnest; that they expected to see a tho-

* Lord Chief-justice Parker, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, in the beginning of December 1711, when there was some prospect of a change of ministry, sent for Morphew, the publisher of the "Conduct of the Allies," threatened him, demanded the name of the author, and bound him over to appear next sessions. "He would not," says Swift, "have the impudence to do this, if he did not foresee what was coming at court." *Journal*, 13th December 1711.

ough change with respect to employments ; and although every man could not be provided for, yet, when all places were filled with persons of good principles, there would be fewer complaints, and less danger from the other party ; that this change was hoped for all last summer, and even to the opening of the session, yet nothing done. On the other hand, it was urged by some, in favour of the ministry, that it was impossible to find employments for one petitioner in twenty ; and therefore, in gratifying one, nineteen would be disoblged, but while all had leave to hope, they would all endeavour to deserve : but this again was esteemed a very shallow policy, which was too easily seen through, must soon come to an end, and would cause a general discontent, with twenty other objections to which it was liable : and indeed, considering the short life of ministers in our climate, it was, with some reason, thought a little hard, that those for whom any employment was intended, should, by such a delay, be probably deprived of half their benefit ; not to mention, that a ministry is best confirmed, when all inferior officers are in its interest.

I have set this cause of complaint in the strongest light, although my design is to endeavour that it should have no manner of weight with you, as I am confident our adversaries counted upon, and do still expect to find mighty advantages by it.

But it is necessary to say something to this objection, which, in all appearance, lies so hard upon the present ministry. What shall I offer upon so tender a point ? how shall I convey an answer that none will apprehend, except those for whom I intend it ? I have often pitied the condition of great ministers, upon several accounts ; but never

so much upon any, as when their duty obliges them to bear the blame and envy of actions, for which they will not be answerable in the next world, though they dare not convince the present till it is too late. This letter is sent you, gentlemen, from no mean hand, nor from a person uninformed, though, for the rest, as little concerned in point of interest for any change of ministry, as most others of his fellow-subjects. I may, therefore, assume so much to myself, as to desire you will depend upon it, that a short time will make manifest, how little the defect you complain of ought to lie at that door, where your enemies would be glad to see you place it. The wisest man, who is not very near the spring of affairs, but views them only in their issues and events, will be apt to fix applauses and reproaches in the wrong place; which is the true cause of a weakness, that I never yet knew great ministers without; I mean, their being deaf to all advice: for, if a person of the best understanding offers his opinion in a point where he is not master of all the circumstances, (which, perhaps, are not to be told) 'tis a hundred to one but he runs into an absurdity. whence it is, that ministers falsely conclude themselves to be equally wiser than others in general things, where the common reason of mankind ought to be the judge, and is probably less biassed than theirs. I have known a great man of excellent parts, blindly pursue a point of no^{*}importance, against the advice of every friend he had, till it ended in his ruin.* I

* Lord Godolphin, who suffered himself to be misled by his resentment in the affair of Sacheverel.

have seen great abilities rendered utterly useless, by unaccountable and unnecessary delay, and by difficulty of access, by which a thousand opportunities are suffered to escape. I have observed the strongest should'ers sink under too great a load of business, for want of dividing a due proportion among others * These, and more that might be named, are very obvious failings, which every rational man may be allowed to discern, as well as lament; and wherein the wisest minister may receive advice from others of inferior understanding. But in those actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the motives and circumstances, it is hardly possible that our judgment should not be mistaken. I have often been one of the company, where we have all blamed a measure taken, which has afterwards proved the only one that could possibly have succeeded. Nay, I have known those very men, who have formerly been in the secret of affairs, when a new set of people hath come in, offering their refinements and conjectures in a very plausible manner upon what was passing, and widely err in all they advanced.

Whatever occasions may have been given for complaints, that enough has not been done, those complaints should not be carried so far, as to make us forget what hath been done; which, at first, was a great deal more than we hoped, or thought practicable; and you may be assured, that so

* These two errors, the love of procrastination, and a desire to do more than was possible with his own hand, belonged to Harley. The one, indeed, necessarily grew out of the other; since he, that undertakes too heavy a task, becomes naturally reluctant to commence his hopeless labours.

much courage and address were not employed in the beginning of so great a work, without a resolution of carrying it through, as fast as opportunities would offer. Any of the most sanguine gentlemen in your club would gladly have compounded, two years ago, to have been assured of seeing affairs in the present situation : it is principally to the abilities of one great person, that you, gentlemen, owe the happiness of meeting together, to cultivate the good principles, and form yourselves into a body for defending your country, against a restless and dangerous faction. It is to the same we all owe that mighty change in the most important posts of the kingdom ; that we see the sacred person of our prince encompassed by those whom we ourselves would have chosen, if it had been left to our power . and if every thing besides that you could wish, has not been hitherto done, you will be but just to impute it to some powerful, though unknown impediments, wherein the ministry is more to be lamented than blamed. But there is good reason to hope, from the vigorous proceedings of the court, that these impediments will, in a short time, effectually be removed . and one great motive to hasten the removal of them, will doubtless be, the reflection upon those dangerous consequences, which had like to have ensued upon not removing them before. Besides, after so plain and formidable a conviction, that mild and moderate methods meet with no other reception or return, than to serve as opportunities to the insatiable malice of an enemy ; power will awake to vindicate itself, and disarm its opposers, at least of all offensive weapons

Consider, if you please, how hard beset the present ministry has been on every side, by the

impossibility of carrying on the war any longer, without taking the most desperate courses ; or of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, although we could continue it many years longer : by the clamours of a faction against any peace without that condition, which the most knowing among themselves allowed to be impracticable ; by the secret cabals of foreign ministers, who endeavoured to inflame our people, and spirited up a sinking faction to blast our endeavours for peace, with those popular reproaches of France and the pretender ; not to mention the danger they have been in, from private insinuations, of such a nature as it was almost impossible to fence against. These clouds now begin to blow over, and those who are at the helm, will have leisure to look about them, and complete what yet remains to be done.

That confederate body, which now makes up the adverse party, consists of a union so monstrous and unnatural, that in a little time it must of necessity fall to pieces. The dissenters, with reason, think themselves betrayed and sold by their brethren. What they have been told, that the present bill against occasional conformity was to prevent a greater evil, is an excuse too gross to pass ; and if any other profound refinement were meant, it is now come to nothing. The remaining sections of the party, have no other tie, but that of an inveterate hatred and rancour against those in power, without agreeing in any other common interest, nor cemented by principle, or personal friendship, I speak particularly of their leaders ; and although I know that court enmities are as inconstant as its friendships, yet from the difference of temper and principle, as well as the scars remaining of former animosities,

I am persuaded then league will not be of long continuance. I know several of them, who will never pardon those with whom they are now in confederacy; and when once they see the present ministry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of hunting upon a cold scent, or playing a desperate game, and crumble away.

On the other side, while the malice of that party continues in vigour, while they yet feel the bruises of their fall, which pain them afresh since their late disappointment, they will leave no arts untried to recover themselves, and it behoves all, who have any regard for the safety of the queen or her kingdom, to join unanimously against an adversary, who will return full fraught with vengeance, upon the first opportunity that shall offer: and this perhaps is more to be regarded, because that party seem yet to have a reserve of hope in the same quarter, whence their last reinforcement came. Neither can any thing cultivate this hope of theirs so much, as a disagreement among ourselves, founded upon a jealousy of the ministry; who I think need no better a testimony of their good intentions, than the incessant rage of the party-leaders against them.

There is one fault, which both sides are apt to charge upon themselves, and very generously commend their adversaries for the contrary virtue. The Tories acknowledge, that the Whigs outdid them in rewarding their friends, and adhering to each other; the Whigs allow the same to the Tories. I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this point; for, doubtless, the Tories are less vindictive of the two, and whoever is remiss in punishing, will probably be so in rewarding: although, at the same time, I well remember the clamours often raised during the

reign of that party, against the leaders, by those who thought their merits were not rewarded; and they had reason on their side, because it is no doubt a misfortune to forfeit honour and conscience for nothing. but surely the case is very different at this time, when, whoever adheres to the administration, does service to God, his prince, and his country, as well as contributes to his own private interest and safety.

But if the Whig leaders were more grateful in rewarding their friends, it must be avowed likewise, that the bulk of them were in general more zealous for the service of their party, even when abstracted from any private advantage, as might be observed in a thousand instances, for which I would likewise commend them, if it were not unnatural for mankind, to be more violent in an ill cause than a good one.

The perpetual discord of factions, with several changes of late years, in the very nature of our government, have controlled many maxims among us. The court and country party, which used to be the old division, seems now to be ceased, or suspended, for better times, and worse princes. The queen and ministry are at this time fully in the true interest of the kingdom; and therefore the court and country are of a side, and the Whigs, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independant faction, nursed up by the necessities, or mistakes, of a late good, although unexperienced prince. Court and country ought therefore to join their forces against these common enemies, until they are entirely dispersed and disabled. It is enough to arm ourselves against them, when we consider that the greatest misfortunes which can befall the nation, are what would most answer their interest and their wishes; a per-

petual war increases their money, and breaks and beggars their landed enemies. The ruin of the church would please the dissenters, deists, and socinians, whereof the body of their party consists. A commonwealth, or a protector, would gratify the republican principles of some, and the ambition of others among them.

Hence I would infer, that no discontents of an inferior nature, such I mean as I have already mentioned, should be carried so far as to give any ill impression of the present ministry. If all things have not been hitherto done as you, gentlemen, could reasonably wish, it can be imputed only to the secret instruments of that faction. The truth of this has appeared from some late incidents, more visibly than formerly. Neither do I believe that any one will now make a doubt, whether a certain person* be in earnest, after the united and avowed endeavours of a whole party, to strike directly at his head.

When it happens by some private cross intrigues, that a great man has not that power which is thought due to his station, he will however probably desire the reputation of it, without which he neither can preserve the dignity, nor hardly go through the common business of his place; yet is it that reputation to which he owes all the envy and hatred of others, as well as his own disquiet. Mean time, his expecting friends impute all their disappointments to some deep design, or to his defect of good will, and his enemies are sure to cry up his excess of power, especially in those points where they are confident it is most shortened. A minister, in this difficult case, is

* The lord treasurer.

sometimes forced to preserve his credit, by forbearing what is in his power, for fear of discovering how far the limits extend of what is not; or, perhaps, for fear of showing an inclination contrary to that of his master. Yet all this while he lies under the reproach of delay, unsteadiness, or want of sincerity. So that there are many inconveniences and dangers, either in discovering, or concealing the want of power. Neither is it hard to conceive, that ministers may happen to suffer for the sins of their predecessors, who, by their great abuses and monopolies of power and favour, have taught princes to be more thrifty for the future, in the distribution of both. And as in common life, whoever has been long confined, is very fond of his liberty, and will not easily endure the very appearance of restraint, even from those who have been the instruments of setting him free; so it is with the recovery of power, which is usually attended with an undistinguished jealousy, lest it should be again invaded.* In such a juncture, I cannot discover why a wise and honest man should venture to place himself at the head of affairs, upon any other regard than the safety of his country, and the advice of Socrates, to prevent an ill man from coming in.

Upon the whole, I do not see any one ground of suspicion or dislike, which you, gentlemen, or others who wish well to their country, may have entertained about persons or proceedings, but

* That Queen Anne had learned the lesson taught her by Harley, of acting for herself, much too well for the convenience of her ministers, is obvious from her conduct in cherishing at once two favourites of such inconsistent principles as the Duchess of Somerset and Mrs Masham. Swift repeatedly complains of her exercise of her free will in the *Journal to Stella*.

what may probably be misapprehended, even by those who think they have the best information. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther, by adding, that although it may not be prudent to speak out upon this occasion; yet whoever will reason impartially upon the whole state of affairs, must entirely acquit the ministry of that delay and neutrality, which have been laid to their charge. Or, suppose some small part of this accusation were true, (which I positively know to be otherwise, whereof the world will soon be convinced) yet the consequences of any resentment at this time, must either be none at all, or the most fatal that can be imagined; for, if the present ministry be made so uneasy, that a change be thought necessary, things will return of course into the old hands of those, whose little fingers will be found heavier than their predecessors' loins. The Whig faction is so dexterous at corrupting, and the people so susceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how easy it will be, after such a turn of affairs, upon a new election, to procure a majority against you. They will resume their power, with a spirit like that of Marius or Sylla, or the last triumvirate; and those ministers who have been most censured for too much hesitation, will fall the first sacrifices to their vengeance. but these are the smallest mischiefs to be apprehended from such returning exiles. What security can a prince hope for his person, or his crown, or even for the monarchy itself? He must expect to see his best friends brought to the scaffold, for asserting his rights; to see his prerogative trampled on, and his treasure applied to feed the avarice of those, who make themselves his keepers, to hear himself treated with insolence and contempt; to have his family purged at pleasure by their hu-

mour and malice; and to retain even the name and shadow of a king, no longer than his ephor¹¹ shall think fit.

These are the inevitable consequences of such a change of affairs, as that envenomed party is now projecting; which will best be prevented by your firmly adhering to the present ministry, until this domestic enemy is out of all possibility of making head any more.

SOME
R E A S O N S

TO PROVE,
THAT NO ONE IS OBLIGED, BY HIS PRINCIPLES
AS A WHIG, TO OPPOSE THE QUEEN :
IN A LETTER TO A WHIG LORD.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,
A SUPPOSED LETTER
FROM THE PRETENDER TO ANOTHER WHIG LORD.

BOTH FIRST PRINTED IN 1712

SOME REASONS, &c.

SWIFT mentions this Letter in his Journal to Stella, 17th June 1712. "Read the Letter to a Whig Lord." Mr Nichols, from a MS. note of Charles Ford, the intimate friend of Swift, fills up the name of Lord Ashburnham, as the nobleman to whom it is addressed. He married Lady Mary Butler, daughter of the Duke of Ormond, who died soon afterwards. When Swift visited the Duke after his loss, he "talked something of Lord Ashburnham, that he was afraid the Whigs would get him again," from which we must infer, that either the arguments of the Letter-writer, or his connexion with the House of Ormond, had brought him over to the court interest. See Journal, 5th January 1712-13. The fear seems to have been ill-founded; for, in 1713, Lord Ashburnham was made deputy-governor of the Cinque Ports; and, shortly after, colonel and captain of the first troop of guards, in room of the Earl of Portland, who was ordered to sell that post for L.10,000.

SOME
REASONS, &c.

MY LORD,

THE dispute between your lordship and me has, I think, no manner of relation to what in the common style of these times are called principles; wherein both parties seem well enough to agree, if we will but allow their professions. I can truly affirm, that none of the reasonable sober Whigs I have conversed with did ever avow any opinion concerning religion or government, which I was not willing to subscribe; so that, according to my judgment, those terms of distinction ought to be dropped, and others introduced in their stead, to denominate men, as they are inclined to peace or war, to the last or the present ministry: for whoever thoroughly considers the matter, will find these to be the only differences that divide the nation at present. I am apt to think your lordship would readily allow this, if you were not aware of the consequence I intend to draw: for it is plain, that the making peace and war, as well as the choice of ministers, is wholly in the crown; and therefore the dispute at present lies altogether between those who would support and those who would violate the royal prerogative. This decision may seem perhaps too sudden and severe, but I do not see how

it can be contested. Give me leave to ask your lordship, whether you are not resolved to oppose the present ministry to the utmost? and whether it was not chiefly with this design, that, upon the opening of the present session, you gave your vote against any peace till Spain and the West Indies were recovered from the Bourbon family? I am confident your lordship then believed, what several of your House and party have acknowledged, that the recovery of Spain was grown impracticable by several incidents, as well as by our utter inability to continue the war upon the former foot. But you reasoned right, that such a vote, in such a juncture, was the present way of ruining the present ministry. For, as her majesty would certainly lay much weight upon a vote of either House, so it was judged that her ministers would hardly venture to act directly against it; the natural consequence of which must be a dissolution of the parliament, and a return of all your friends into a full possession of power. This advantage the lords have over the commons, by being a fixed body of men, where a majority is not to be obtained, but by time and mortality, or new creations, or other methods which I will suppose the present age too virtuous to admit. Several noble lords, who joined with you in that vote, were but little inclined to disoblige the court, because it suited ill with their circumstances. but the poor gentlemen were told it was the safest part they could act; for it was boldly alleged, that

* The address voted by the House of Lords, 7th December, 1711, concluding with representing their humble opinion and advice, "that no peace can be safe or honourable to Great Britain, or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies are to be allotted to any part of the House of Bourbon."

the queen herself was at the bottom of this affair ; and one of your neighbours, * whom the dread of losing a great employment often puts into agonies, was growing fast into a very good courtier, began to cultivate the chief minister, and often expressed his approbation of present proceedings, till that unfortunate day of trial came, when the mighty hopes of a change revived his constancy, and encouraged him to adhere to his old friends. But the event, as your lordship saw, was directly contrary to what your great undertaker had flattered you with. The queen was so far from approving what you had done, that, to show she was in earnest, and to remove all future apprehensions from that quarter, she took a resolute necessary step, † which is like to make her easy for the rest of her reign, and which, I am confident, your lordship would not have been one of those to have put her upon, if you had not been most shamefully misinformed. After this, your party had nothing to do but sit down and murmur at so extraordinarily an exertion of the prerogative, and quarrel at a necessity, which their own violence, inflamed by the treachery of others, had created. Now, my lord, if an action so indisputably in her majesty's power requires any excuse, we have a very good one at hand. We alleged, that the majority you hardly acquired with so much art and management, partly made up from a certain transitory bench, and partly of those whose nobility began with themselves, was wholly formed during the long power of your friends ; so that it became necessary to turn the balance, by new creations ;

Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset, master of the house,
Alluding to the twelve new lords.

wherein, however, great care was taken to increase the peerage as little as possible, * and to make a choice against which no objection could be raised, with relation to birth or fortune, or other qualifications requisite for so high an honour.

There is no man hath a greater veneration than I for that noble part of our legislature, whereof your lordship is a member; and I will venture to assert, that, supposing it possible for corruptions to go far in either assembly, yours is less liable to them than a House of Commons. A standing senate of persons nobly born, of great patrimonial estates, and of pious learned prelates, is not easily perverted from intending the true interest of their prince and country, whereas we have found by experience, that a corrupt ministry, at the head of a monied faction, is able to procure a majority of whom they please, to represent the people. But then, my lord, on the other side, if it has been so contrived, by time and management, that the majority of a standing senate is made up of those who wilfully or otherwise mistake the public good; the cure, by common remedies, is as slow as the disease; whereas a good prince, in the hearts of his people, and at the head of a ministry who leaves them to their own free choice, cannot miss a good assembly of commons. Now, my lord, we do assert, that this majority of yours has been the workmanship of about twenty years; during which time, considering the choice of persons in the several creations;

* This promotion was so ordered, that a third part were of those, on whom, or their posterity, the peerage would naturally devolve; and the rest were such, whose merit, birth, and fortune, could admit of no exception. *Swift.*

considering the many arts used in making proselytes among the young nobility who have since grown up, and the wise methods to prevent them being tainted by university principles, lastly, considering the age of those who fill up a certain bench,* and with what views their successions have been supplied; I am surprised to find your majority so bare and weak, that it is not possible for you to keep it much longer, unless old men be immortal; neither perhaps would there be any necessity to wait so long, if certain methods were put in practice, which your friends have often tried with success. Your lordship plainly sees by the event, that neither threats nor promises are made use of, where it is pretty well agreed that they would not be ineffectual. Voting against the court, and indeed against the kingdom, in the most important cases, has not been followed by the loss of places or pensions, unless in very few particulars, where the circumstances have been so extremely aggravating, that to have been passive would have argued the lowest weakness or fear. To instance only in the Duke of Marlborough; who, against the wholesome advice of those who consulted his true interest much better than his flatterers, would needs put all upon that desperate issue, of destroying the present ministry, or falling himself.

I believe, my lord, you are now fully convinced, that the queen is altogether averse from the thoughts of ever employing your party in her councils or her court. You see a prodigious majority in the House of Commons of the same sentiments; and the only quarrel against the treasurer

* The bench of bishops, who, as often remarked, chiefly consisted of prelates of the low-church principles.

is an opinion of more mildness toward your friends than it is thought they deserve;* neither can you hope for better success in the next election, while her majesty continues her present servants, although the bulk of the people were better disposed to you than it is manifest they are. With all the advantages I lately mentioned, which a House of Lords has over the Commons, it is agreed that the pulse of the nation is much better felt by the latter than the former, because those represent the whole people, but your lordships, (whatever some may pretend,) do represent only your own persons. Now it has been the old complaint of your party, that the body of country gentlemen always leaned too much (since the Revolution) to the Tory side: and as your numbers were much lessened about two years ago, by a very unpopular † quarrel, wherein the church thought itself deeply concerned; so you daily diminish, by your zeal against peace, which the landed men, half ruined by the war, do so extremely want and desire.

It is probable that some persons may, upon occasion, have endeavoured to bring you over to the present measures. If so, I desire to know whether such persons required of you to change any principles, relating to government, either in church or state, in which you have been educated? or did you ever hear that such a thing was offered to any other of your party? I am sure, neither can be affirmed; and then it is plain, that principles are not concerned in the dispute. The

* He alludes to the opinions of the high Tories of the October club.

† The trial of Sacheverel.

two chief, or indeed the only topics of quarrel are, whether the queen shall choose her own servants² and, whether she shall keep her prerogative of making peace² And I believe there is no Whig in England that will openly deny her power in either. As to the latter, which is the more avowed, her majesty has promised, that the treaty shall be laid before her parliament; after which, if it be made without their approbation, and proves to be against the interest of the kingdom, the ministers must answer for it at their extremest peril. What is there in all this that can possibly affect your principles as a Whig² or rather, my lord, are you not, by all sorts of principles lawful to own, obliged to acquiesce and submit to her majesty upon this article² But I suppose, my lord, you will not make a difficulty of confessing the true genuine cause of animosity to be, that those who are out of place would fain be in; and that the bulk of your party are the dupes of half a dozen, who are impatient at their loss of power. It is true, they would fain infuse into your lordship such strange opinions of the present ministry and their intentions, as none of themselves at all believe. Has your lordship observed the least step made toward giving any suspicion of a design to alter the succession, to introduce arbitrary power, or to hurt the toleration, unless you will reckon the last to have been damaged by the bill lately obtained against occasional conformity, which was your own act and deed,* by a strain of such profound poli-

* By a sort of composition between the Whig party, and their new proselyte the Earl of Nottingham, they joined him 15th Dec.

cy, and the contrivance of so profound a politician, that I cannot unravel it to the bottom.

Pray, my lord, give yourself leave to consider whence this indefatigable zeal is derived, that makes the heads of your party send you a hundred messages, accost you in all places, and remove heaven and earth to procure your vote upon a pinch, whenever they think it lies in their way to distress the queen and ministry. Those, who have already rendered themselves desperate, have no other resource than in an utter change. But this is by no means your lordship's case. While others were at the head of affairs, you served the queen with no more share in them than what belonged to you as a peer; although perhaps you were inclined to their persons or proceedings, more than to those of the present set. Those who are now in power cannot justly blame you for doing so; neither can your friends out of place reproach you, if you go on to serve her majesty and make her easy in her government, unless they can prove that unlawful or unreasonable things are demanded of you. I cannot see how your conscience or honour are here concerned; or why people who have cast off all hope should desire you to embark with them against your prince, whom you have never directly offended. It is just as if a man who had committed a murder, and was flying his country, should desire all his friends and acquaintance to bear him company in his flight and banishment. Neither do I see how this will any way answer your interest;

1711, in carrying through the bill against occasional conformity, which had lain dormant for seven years. This gave great offence to the dissenters.

for, though it should possibly happen that your friends would be again taken into power, your lordship cannot expect they will admit you to the head of affairs, or even in the secret. Every thing of consequence is already bespoke. I can tell you who is to be treasurer, who chamberlain, and who to be secretaries. These offices, and many others, have been some time fixed; and all your lordship can hope for, is only the lieutenancy of a county, or some other honorary employment, or an addition to your title, or, if you were poor, perhaps a pension. And is not the way to any of these as fully open at present? and will you declare you cannot serve your queen unless you choose her ministry? Is this forsaking your principles? But that phrase is dropped of late, and they call it forsaking your friends. To serve your queen and country, while any but they are at the helm, is to forsake your friends. This is a new party figure of speech, which I cannot comprehend. I grant, my lord, that this way of reasoning is very just, while it extends no farther than to the several members of their juntos and cabals; and I could point out half a score persons, for each of whom I should have the utmost contempt if I saw them making any overtures to be received into trust. Wise men will never be persuaded, that such violent turns can proceed from virtue or conviction; and I believe you and your friends do in your own thoughts most heartily despise that ignominious example of apostacy,* whom you outwardly so much caress. But you, my lord, who have shared no farther in the favour and confidence of your

* The Earl of Nottingham, who, being indulged by the Whigs in his High Church prejudices against Non-conformists, gave up to them in return his Tory principles in civil matters.

leaders than barely to be listed of the party, cannot honourably refuse serving her majesty, and contributing what is in your power to make her government easy, though her weighty affairs be not trusted to the hands where you would be glad to see them. One advantage your lordship may count upon by acting with the present ministry is, that you shall not undergo a state inquisition into your principles; but may believe as you please in those points of government, wherein so many writers perplex the world with their explanation. Provided you heartily renounce the pretender, you may suppose what you please of his birth, and if you allow her majesty's undoubted right, you may call it hereditary or parliamentary, as you think fit. The ministers will second your utmost zeal for securing the indulgence to protestant dissenters. They abhor arbitrary power as much as you. In short, there is no opinion properly belonging to you as a Whig, wherein you may not still continue, and yet deserve the favour and countenance of the court; provided you offer nothing in violation of the royal prerogative, nor take the advantage in critical junctures to bring difficulties upon the administration, with no other view but that of putting the queen under the necessity of changing it. But your own party, my lord, whenever they return into play, will not receive you upon such easy terms, although they will have much more need of your assistance, they will vary their political catechism as often as they please, and you must answer directly to every article, as it serves the present turn. This is a truth too visible for you to call in doubt. How unanimous are you to a man in every point, whether of moment or no! Whereas, upon our side, many stragglers have ap-

peared in all divisions, even among those who believed the consequence of their dissent would be the worst we could fear; for which the courage, integrity, and moderation of those at the helm, cannot be sufficiently admired, though I question whether in good politics, the last ought always to be imitated.

If your lordship will please to consider the behaviour of the Tories during the long period of this reign while their adversaries were in power, you will find it very different from that of your party at present. We opposed the grant to the Duke of Marlborough till he had done something to deserve so great a reward; and then it was granted, *ne mine contradicente*. We opposed repealing the test; which would level the church established with every snivelling sect in the nation. We opposed the bill of general naturalization, by which we were in danger to be overrun by schismatics and beggars. The scheme of breaking into the statutes of colleges, which obliged the fellows to take holy orders; the impeachment of Dr Sacheverell, the hopeful project of limiting clergymen what to preach; with several others of the same stamp, were strenuously opposed, as manifestly tending to the ruin of the church. But you cannot give a single instance, where the least violation hath been offered to her majesty's undoubted prerogative, in either House, by the lords or commons of our side. We should have been glad indeed to have seen affairs in other management; yet we never attempted to bring it about by stirring up the city, or inviting foreign ministers to direct the queen in the choice of her servants, much less by infusing jealousies into the next heir. Endeavours were not publicly used to blast the credit of the nation, and discourage foreigners

from trusting their money in our funds ; nor were writers suffered openly, and in weekly papers, to revile persons in the highest employments. In short, if you can prove where the course of affairs, under the late ministry, was any way clogged by the church party, I will freely own the latter to have so far acted against reason and duty. Your lordship finds I would argue from hence, that even the warmest heads on your side, and those who are deepest engaged, have no tolerable excuse for thwarting the queen upon all occasions ; much less you, my lord, who are not involved in their guilt or misfortunes, nor ought to involve yourself in their resentments.

I have often wondered with what countenance those gentlemen, who have so long engrossed the greatest employments, have shared among them the bounties of the crown and the spoils of the nation, and are now thrown aside with universal odium, can accost others, who either never received the favours of the court, or who must depend upon it for their daily support ; with what countenance, I say, these gentlemen can accost such persons in their usual style ; “ My lord, you were always with us, you will not forsake your friends, you have been still right in your principles ; let us join to a man, and the court will not be able to carry it ! ” and this frequently in points where Whig and Tory are no more concerned, than in the length or colour of your periwigs. Why all this industry to ply you with letters, messages, and visits, for carrying some peevish vote, which only serves to display inveterate pride, ill nature, and disobedience, without effect ? Though you are flattered, it must possibly make the crown and ministry so uneasy as to bring on the necessity of a change ; which however is at best a design

but ill becoming a good subject, or a man of honour. I shall say nothing of those who are fallen from their heights of power and profit, who then think all claim of gratitude for past favours cancelled. But you, my lord, upon whom the crown has never cast any peculiar marks of favour or displeasure, ought better to consider the duty you owe your sovereign, not only as a subject in general, but as a member of the peerage, who have been always the strenuous assertors of just prerogative against popular encroachments, as well as of liberty against arbitrary power. So that it is something unnatural, as well as unjust, for one of your order to oppose the most mild and gracious prince that ever reigned, upon a party pique, and in points where prerogative was never disputed.

But, after all, if there were any probable hopes of bringing things to another turn by these violent methods of your friends, it might then perhaps be granted that you acted at least a politic part; but surely the most sanguine among them could hardly have the confidence to insinuate to your lordship the probability of such an event during her majesty's life. Will any man of common understanding, when he has recovered his liberty after being kept long in the strictest bondage, return of his own accord to gaol, where he is sure of being confined for ever? This her majesty and millions of her subjects firmly believe to be exactly the case; and whether it be so or no, it is enough that it is so believed; and this belief is attended with as great an aversion for those keepers as a good christian can be allowed to entertain, as well as with a dread of ever being again in their power, so that, whenever the ministry may be changed, it will certainly not be to

the advantage of your party, except under the next successor, which I hope is too remote a view for your lordship to proceed by ; though I know some of your chiefs who build all their expectations upon it.

For indeed, my lord, your party is much deceived, when they think to distress a ministry for any long time, or to any great purpose, while those ministers act under a queen who is so firmly convinced of their zeal and ability for her service, and who is at the same time so thoroughly possessed of her people's hearts. Such a weight will infallibly at length bear down the balance ; and, according to the nature of our constitution, it ought to be so, because, when any one of the three powers whereof our government is composed proves too strong for the other two, there is an end of our monarchy. So little are you to regard the crude politics of those who cried out, "The constitution was in danger," when her majesty lately increased the peerage ; without which it was impossible the two Houses could have proceeded, with any concert, upon the most weighty affairs of the kingdom.

I know not any quarrels your lordship, as a member of the Whig party, can have against the court, except those which I have already mentioned ; I mean, the removal of the late ministry, the dismission of the Duke of Marlborough, and the present negotiations of peace. I shall not say any thing farther upon these heads ; only as to the second, which concerns the Duke of Marlborough, give me leave to observe, that there is no kingdom, or state in Christendom, where a person in such circumstances would have been so gently treated. But it is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their displeasure are fie-

quently much more public than the cause: the punishments are in the face of the world, when the crimes are in the dark, and posterity, without knowing the truth of things, may perhaps number us among the ungrateful populace of Greece and Rome, for discarding a general, under whose conduct our troops have been so many years victorious; whereas it is most certain, that this great lord's resolution against peace, upon any terms whatsoever, did reach the ministry at home as much as the enemy abroad. nay, his rage against the former was so much the more violent of the two, that, as it is affirmed by skilful computers, he spent more money here upon secret service in a few months, than he did for many years in Flanders.* But whether that be true or false, your lordship knows very well, that he resolved to give no quarter, whatever he might be content to take when he should find himself at mercy. And the question was brought to this issue, whether the queen should dissolve the present parliament, procure a new one of the Whig stamp, turn out those who had ventured so far to rescue her from insolence and ill usage, and invite her old controllers to resume their tyranny with a recruited spirit of vengeance? or, whether she should save all this trouble, danger, and vexation, by only changing one general for another?

Whatever good opinion I may have of the present ministry, I do not pretend, by any thing I have said, to make your lordship believe, that they are persons of sublime abstracted Roman

* It was one of the charges against the Duke of Marlborough that he pocketed the secret-service money.

virtue : but, where two parties divide a nation, it usually happens, that, although the virtues and vices may be pretty equal on both sides, yet the public good of the country may suit better with the private interest of one side than of the other. Perhaps there may be nothing in it but chance, and it might so have happened, if things were to begin again, that the junto and their adherents would have found it their advantage to be obedient subjects, faithful servants, and good churchmen. However, since these parts happen to be acted by another set of men, I am not very speculative to inquire into the motives ; but, having no ambition at heart to mislead me, I naturally side with those who proceed most by the maxims wherein I was educated. There was something like this in the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey : Cato and Brutus were the two most virtuous men in Rome ; the former did not much approve the intentions of the heads on either side ; and the latter, by inclination, was more a friend to Cæsar. but, because the senate and people generally followed Pompey, and as Cæsar's party was only made up of the troops with which he conquered Gaul, with the addition of some profligate deserters from Rome, those two excellent men, who thought it base to stand neuter where the liberties of their country were at stake, joined heartily on that side which undertook to preserve the laws and constitution, against the usurpations of a victorious general, whose ambition was bent to overthrow them.*

* Steele had the boldness, in one of his Tatlers, to compare Marlborough to Cæsar, on the point of passing the Rubicon, and to insinuate some violent step of the same nature as the probable consequence of his disgrace.

I cannot dismiss your lordship, without a remark or two upon the bill for appointing commissioners to inquire into the grants since 1688, which was lately thrown out of your House, for no other reason than the hopes of putting the ministry to a plunge. It was universally known, that the lord treasurer had prevailed to wave the tack in the House of Commons, and promised his endeavours to make the bill pass by itself in the House of Lords.* I could name at least five or six of your noble friends, who, if left to the guidance of their own opinion, would heartily concur to an entire resumption of those grants; others assure me they could name a dozen: yet, upon the hope of weakening the court, perplexing the ministry, and shaking the lord treasurer's credit in the House of Commons, you went on so unanimously, that I do not hear there was one single negative in your whole list, nor above one Whig lord guilty of a suspicious absence,† who, being much in your lordship's circumstances, of a great patrimonial estate, and under no obligation to either side, did not think himself bound to forward a point, driven on merely to make the crown uneasy at this juncture, while it no way

* The Commons had ordered a bill to be brought in for a further resumption of King William's grants, in order to raise funds for payment of national debt. But, after it had been passed in the Commons, and commissioners had been named for valuing the lands, it was rejected by the Lords, 31st April 1711.

† The Earl of Sunderland seems to be alluded to. He absented himself under pretext of indisposition, although he had Lord Colpepper's proxy in his pocket. But the vigilance of the Duke of Portland was such, that an express, dispatched to Lord Colpepper, returned with a proxy in favour of another peer, time enough to be reckoned in the vote.

affected his principles as a Whig, and which, I am told, was directly against his private judgment. How he has since been treated as an apostate and betrayer of his friends, by some of the leaders and their deputies among you, I hope your lordship is ashamed to reflect on. nor do I take such open and sudden declarations to be very wise, unless you already despair of his return, which, I think, after such usage, you justly may. For the rest, I doubt your lordship's friends have missed every end they proposed to themselves in rejecting that bill. My lord treasurer's credit is not any way lessened in the House of Commons. In your own House, you have been very far from making a division among the queen's friends; as appeared manifestly a few days ago, when you lost your vote by so great a majority, and disappointed those who had been encouraged to hire places, upon certain expectations of seeing a parade to the Tower.* Lastly, it may probably happen, that those who opposed an inquisition into the grants, will be found to have hardly done any very great service to the present possessors. To charge those grants with six years purchase to the public, and then to confirm the title by parliament, would, in effect, be no real loss to the owners, because, by such a confirmation, they would rise in value proportionably, and differ as

* "We got a great victory last Wednesday [May 28] in the House of Lords, by a majority, I think, of twenty-eight; and the Whigs had desired their friends to take places, to see lord treasurer carried to the Tower." *Journal to Stella*, May 31, 1712.—The motion was, "To address her majesty, that she would be pleased to send orders to her general [the Duke of Ormond] to act, in concert with her allies, offensively against France, in order to obtain a safe and honourable peace."

much as the best title can from the worst. The adverse party knew very well, that nothing beyond this was intended ; but they cannot be sure what may be the event of a second inspection, which the resentment of the House of Commons will probably render more severe, and which you will never be able to avert when your number lessens, as it certainly must ; and when the expedient is put in practice, without a tack, of making those grants part of a supply. From whence it is plain, that the zeal against that bill arose, in a great measure, from some other cause, than a tenderness to those who were to suffer by it

I shall conclude, my lord, with putting you in mind, that you are a subject of the queen, a peer of the realm, and a servant of your country ; and, in any of these capacities, you are not to consider what you dislike in the persons of those who are in the administration, but the manner of conducting themselves while they are in : and then I do not despair but your own good sense will fully convince you, that the prerogative of your prince, without which her government cannot subsist ; the honour of your house, which has been always the great assertor of that prerogative ; and the welfare of your country, are too precious to be made a sacrifice to the malice, the interest, and the ambition, of a few party leaders.

A

SUPPOSED

LETTER FROM THE PRETENDER

TO

ANOTHER WHIG LORD.

Swift, never omitting any opportunity of venting his satire upon the Earl of Wharton, made him the party addressed in this supposed letter, by which he meant to retort upon the Whigs the charge of being favourable to the Pretender's interest.

"I was with my friend Lewis to-day, getting materials for a little mischief." *Journal to Stella, May 28, 1712.*

"Things are now in the way of being soon in the extremes of well or ill I hope and believe the first. Lord Wharton is gone out of town in a rage; and curses himself and friends for ruining themselves in defending Lords Marlborough and Godolphin, and taking Nottingham into their favour. He swears he will meddle no more during this reign; a pretty speech at sixty-six; and the queen is near twenty years younger, and now in very good health! Read the Letter to a Whig Lord." *Ibid June 17.*

"To-day, there will be another Grub: A Letter from the Pretender to a Whig Lord. Grub-street has but ten days to live; then an act of parliament takes place that ruins it, by taxing every halfsheet at a halfpenny." *Ibid. July 19.*

St Germain's, July 8, 1712.

MY LORD WHARTON,

I THANK you heartily for your letter; and you may be firmly assured of my friendship. In an-

swer to what you hint, that some of our friends suspect; I protest to you, upon the word of a king, and my Lord Middleton* will be my witness, that I never held the least correspondence with any one person of Tory party. I observe, as near as I can, the instructions of the king my father; among whose papers there is not one letter, as I remember, from any Tory, except two lords and a lady, † who, as you know, have been for some years past devoted to me and the Whigs. I approve of the scheme you sent me, signed by our friends. I do not find 24's name to it. perhaps he may be sick, or in the country ‡ Middleton will be satisfied to be groom of the stole; and if you have Ireland, † may have the staff, provided 15 resigns his pretensions; in which case, he shall have six thousand pounds a-year for life, and a dukedom. § I am content 13 should be secretary and a lord; and I will pay his debts when I am able. ||

I confess, I am sorry your general pardon has so many exceptions; but you and my other friends are judges of that. It was with great difficulty I

* The second Earl of Middleton. He was secretary of state for Scotland in 1682, conjoined with the Earl of Murray, and, in 1684, was made one of the principal secretaries of state for England in room of Godolphin. Lord Middleton followed the fortune of James II. and died an exile in France.

† The Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, with Lord Godolphin, were, in King William's reign, suspected of having correspondence with St Germain's.

‡ The same Whig lord seems to be alluded to, who, in the preceding letter, is said to have been guilty of a suspicious absence from the House, when his party pushed the rejection of the bill for resumption of king William's grants, and who seems to be lord Sunderland.

§ Portland and Godolphin seem to be meant.

|| Walpole, perhaps.

prevailed on the queen to let me sign the commission for life, though her majesty is entirely reconciled. * If Z will accept the privy seal, which you tell me is what would please him, the salary should be doubled: I am obliged to his good intentions, how ill soever they may have succeeded. † All other parts of your plan I entirely agree with; only as to the party that opposes us, your proposal about Z ‡ may bring an odium upon my government. he stands the first excepted, and we shall have enough against him in a legal way. I wish you would allow me twelve more domestics of my own religion; and I will give you what security you please, not to hinder any designs you have of altering the present established worship. Since I have so few employments left me to dispose of, and that most of our friends are to hold theirs for life, I hope you will all be satisfied with so great a share of power. I bid you heartily farewell, and am your assured friend.

* This obviously alludes to Marlborough's commission as general for life, which it was said he demanded of queen Anne

† Probably meaning Nottingham, and his promise to bring over a body of high-churchmen to the party of the Whigs.

‡ We are to suppose, that the plan submitted to the Chevalier de St George by the Whigs, had included some violence against the person of Oxford.

A PRETENDED
LETTER OF THANKS
FROM
LORD WHARTON
TO THE
LORD BISHOP OF ST ASAPH,
IN THE NAME OF
THE KITCAT CLUB
TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
REMARKS ON THE BISHOP'S PREFACE.
FIRST PRINTED IN 1712.

PRETENDED LETTER OF THANKS.

THE learned William Fleetwood, successively bishop of St Asaph and Ely, had been one of Queen Anne's chaplains, and frequently preached before her during the administration of Godolphin. The queen was so partial to him, as usually to call him *her bishop*, his preferment having been conferred on her majesty's own motion. As he was a steady Whig in principle, he collected and published four of these sermons, with a preface; in which, to use the words of Steele, he endeavoured to shew, "that Christianity left us where it found us, as to our civil rights." But, besides an avowal of low-church principles, it contained a pointed and animated attack upon Oxford's administration. The following passage was particularly resented. "Never did seven such years together pass over the head of any English monarch, nor cover it with so much honour; the crown and sceptre seemed to be the queen's least ornaments. Those, other princes wore in common with her, and her great personal virtues were the same before and since. But such was the fame of her administration of affairs at home, such was the reputation of her wisdom and felicity in chusing ministers, and such was then esteemed their faithfulness and zeal, their diligence and great abilities in executing her commands; to such a height of military glory did her great general and her armies carry the British name abroad, such was the harmony and concord betwixt her and her allies, and such was the blessing of God upon all her undertakings, that I am as sure as history can make me, no prince of ours was ever yet so prosperous and successful, so loved, esteemed, and honoured by their subjects and their friends, nor near so formidable to their enemies. We were, as all the world imagined then, just entering on the ways that promised to lead to such a peace, as would have answered all the prayers of our religious queen, the care and vigilance of a most able ministry, the payments of a willing and obedient people, as well as all the glorious toils and hazards of the soldiery, when God, for our sins, permitted the spirit of discord to go forth, and, by troubling sore the camp, the city, and the country, (and, oh! that

it had altogether spared the places sacred to his worship ¹) to spoil for a time this beautiful and pleasing prospect, and give us in its stead,—I know not what. Our enemies will tell the rest with pleasure. It will become me better to pray to God, to restore us to the power of obtaining such a peace, as will be to his glory, the safety, honour, and the welfare of the queen and her dominions, and the general satisfaction of all her high and mighty allies ”

The Whigs took the most active measures to circulate this tract, by inserting it in the *Spectator*, then universally popular, and read by all parties. The Tories, on the other hand, were so incensed, that a motion was made and carried in the House of Commons, for having the Bishop's Preface publicly burnt, which was accordingly performed, 12th May 1712.

Swift, in the following tract, adds insult to indignity. The Kit-cat club, in whose name it is pretended Lord Wharton writes, contained the very flower of the Whig wits and politicians. It derived its title, as is now generally agreed, from the name of the person who kept the tavern in which they met, and who was renowned for the art of making mutton pies. Old Jacob Tonson was their secretary. As Halifax, Wharton, Garth, and other members of the society, were supposed to be latitudinarians in religion, Swift assumes atheism as the characteristic quality of the body, in order to render their approbation more disgraceful to the bishop.

Mr Nichols believes the tract to be one of those seven which Swift published during the fortnight before the trade of Grub-street was destroyed by a stamp upon the productions of her inhabitants. See *Journal to Stella*, 7th August, 1712.

A LETTER
TO
THE BISHOP OF ST ASAPH.

MY LORD,

IT was with no little satisfaction I undertook the pleasing task, assigned me by the gentlemen of the Kit-cat club, of addressing your lordship with thanks for your late service so seasonably done to our sinking cause, in reprinting those most excellent discourses, which you had formerly preached with so great applause, though they were never heard of by us till they were recommended to our perusal by the Spectator, who, some time since, in one of his papers,* entertained the town with a paragraph out of the Postboy, and your lordship's extraordinary preface.

* The Spectator, No. 384, contains an extract from the Post-Boy, about the rumoured death of the Chevalier St George, and a full copy of the Bishop's Preface, which had the effect, as the prelate himself assures us, of dispersing fourteen thousand copies.

The world will, perhaps, be surprised, that gentlemen of our complexion, who have so long been piously employed in overturning the foundations of religion and government, should now stoop to the puny amusement of reading and commending sermons. But your lordship can work miracles, as well as write on them, and I dare assure your lordship and the world, that there is not an atheist in the whole kingdom, (and we are no inconsiderable party,) but will readily subscribe to the principles so zealously advanced, and so learnedly maintained, in those discourses.

I cannot but observe, with infinite delight, that the reasons your lordship gives for reprinting those immortal pieces, are urged with that strength and force which is peculiar to your lordship's writings, and is such as all who have any regard for truth, or relish for good writing, must admire, though none can sufficiently commend.

In a word, the preface is equal to the sermons: less than that ought not, and more cannot, be said of it. In this you play the part of a prophet, with the same address as that of a preacher in those; and, in a strain no ways inferior to Jeremiah, or any of those old pretenders to inspiration, sagely foretel those impending miseries which seem to threaten these nations, by the introduction of popery and arbitrary power. This a man of less penetration than your lordship, without a spirit of divination, or going to the devil for the discovery, may justly "fear and presage, from the natural tendency of several principles and practices which have of late been so studiously revived." I know your lordship means those long since exploded doctrines of obedience and submission to princes, which were only calculated to make "a free and happy people slaves, and miserable."

Who but asses, and packhorses, and beasts of burden, can entertain such servile notions? What! shall the lives and liberties of a freeborn nation be sacrificed to the pride and ambition, the humour and caprice of any one single person? Kings and princes are the creatures of the people, mere state pageants, more for show than use; and shall we fall down and worship those idols, those golden calves of our own setting up? No, never, as long as I can hold a sword, or your lordship a pen

It was suitable to that admirable foresight, which is so conspicuous in every part of your lordship's conduct, to take this effectual method of delivering yourself "from the reproaches and curses of posterity, by publicly declaring to all the world, that though, in the constant course of your ministry, you have never failed, on proper occasions, to recommend the loving, honouring, and reverencing the prince's person," so as never to break his royal shins, nor tread upon his heels; yet you never intended men should pay any submission or obedience to him any longer than he acted according to the will and pleasure of his people. This, you say, is the opinion of Christ, St Peter, and St Paul: and, faith, I am glad to hear it, for I never thought that they had been Whigs before.* But, since your lordship has thus taught them to declare for rebellion, you may

* The worthy bishop only says, "he did not think himself authorised to tell the people that either Christ, St Peter, or St Paul, or any other holy writer, had, by any doctrine delivered by them, subverted the laws and constitution of the country in which they lived, or put them in a worse condition with respect to their civil liberties, than they would have been had they not been Christians."

easily persuade them to do as much for prophane-ness and immorality; and then they, together with your lordship, shall be enrolled members of our club. Your lordship, a little after, (I suppose, to strengthen the testimony of the aforementioned authors) takes care to tell us, that "this always was, and still is, your own judgement in these matters." You need not fear we should suspect your constancy and perseveance; for my Lord Someis, that great genius, who is the life and soul, the head and heart of our party, has long since observed, that we have never been disappointed in any of our Whig bishops; but they have always unalterably acted up, or, to speak properly, down to their principles.

It is impossible for me, my lord, in this short address, to do justice to every part of your incomparable preface: nor need I run riot in encomium and panegyric, since you can perform that part so much better for yourself; for you only give those praises, which you only can deserve; as you have formerly proved in the dedication of your "Essay upon Miracles,"* to Dr Godolphin, where you declare your work to be the most perfect of any upon that subject, in order to pay a very uncommon compliment to your patron, by telling him you had prevailed with your modesty to say so much of your performance, because you would not be thought to make so ill a compliment to him, as to present him with what you had not a great esteem for yourself.

* Dr Godolphin, vice-provost of Eton, was an early patron of Fleetwood, and being a residentiary of St Paul's, caused him to be made rector of St Austin's, London, a living in the gift of the dean and chapter. In 1701, Fleetwood inscribed to Godolphin his celebrated "Essay on Miracles, in two Discourses."

Though I cannot go through the whole preface, yet I think myself obliged in gratitude to thank your lordship in a more particular manner for the last part of it, where you display the glories of the Whig ministry in such strong and lasting colours, as must needs cheer and refresh the sight of all Whig spectators, and dazzle the eyes of the Tories. Here your lordship rises, if possible, above yourself. Never was such strength of thought, such beauty of expression, so happily joined together. Heavens! such force, such energy, in each pregnant word! such fire, such fervour, in each glowing line! One would think your lordship was animated with the same spirit with which our hero fought. Who can read, unmoved, these following strokes of oratory? "Such was the fame, such was the reputation, such was the faithfulness and zeal, to such a height of military glory, such was the harmony and consent, such was the blessing of God," &c. O! the irresistible charm of the word *such*! Well, since Erasmus wrote a treatise in praise of Folly, and my Lord Rochester an excellent poem upon Nothing, I am resolved to employ the Spectator, or some of his fraternity, (dealers in words) to write an encomium upon *Such*.* But, whatever changes our language may undergo, (and every thing that is English is given to change,) this happy word is sure to live in your immortal preface. Your lordship does not end yet, but, to crown all, has another *such* in reserve, where you tell the world, "We were just entering on

* This is a sneer at those papers which contain the humble petition of WHO and WHICH, and the complaint of THAT.

the ways that lead to such a peace as would have answered all our prayers," &c. Now, perhaps, some snarling Tory might impertinently enquire, when we might have expected such a peace? I answer, when the Dutch could get nothing by the war, nor we Whigs lose any thing by a peace; or, to speak in plain terms, (for every one knows I am a free speaker as well as a freethinker) when we had exhausted all the nation's treasure, (which every body knows could not have been long first,) and so far enriched ourselves, and beggared our fellow subjects, as to bring them under a necessity of submitting to what conditions we should think fit to impose; and this too we should have effected, if we had continued in power. But, alas! just in that critical juncture, when (as we thought) our designs were ripe for execution, the scene changed: "God, for our sins," as your lordship wisely observes, "permitted the spirit of discord" (that is, the doctrine of obedience and submission to princes) "to go forth, and, by troubling the camp, the city, and the country (and O that it had spared the places sacred to his worship!) to spoil, for a time, this beautiful and pleasing prospect, and give us in its stead, I know not what" O exquisite! how pathetically does your lordship complain of the downfall of Whiggism, and Daniel Burgess's meeting house! * The generous compassion your lordship has shown upon this tragical occasion, makes me believe your lordship will not be unaffected with an accident that had like to have befallen a poor whore of my acquaint-

* Destroyed by Sacheverel's riotous partizans in 1709-10. See the case of Damaree and Purchas in the State Trials.

ance about that time, who, being big with Whig, was so alarmed at the rising of the mob, that she had like to have miscarried upon it; for the logical jade presently concluded (and the inference was natural enough) that, if they began with pulling down meeting-houses, it might end in demolishing those houses of pleasure where she constantly paid her devotion; and, indeed, there seems a close connection between extempore prayer and extempore love. I doubt not, if this disaster had reached your lordship before, you would have found some room in that moving parenthesis, to have expressed your concern for it.

I come now to that last stroke of your lordship's almighty pen; I mean that expressive dash which you give when you come to the new ministry, where you break off with an artful aposiopesis, and, by refusing to say any thing of them yourself, leave your readers to think the worst they possibly can. Here your lordship shows yourself a most consummate orator, when even your very silence is thus eloquent.

Before I take my leave, I cannot but congratulate your lordship upon that distinguishing mark of honour which the House of Commons has done your preface, by ordering it to be burnt * This

* The prelate received this affront with great indifference, as appears from his letter to Bishop Burnet, 17th June 1712

" I received the favour of your lordship's letter, and took it, as I know it was intended, very kindly. The manner of my receiving the indignity put upon my preface, was neither like a christian nor philosopher, but like a very worldly man. I knew the whole process, I knew it to be a piece of revenge taken by a wicked party, that found themselves sorely stung, and it affected me accordingly, *i. e.* very little. I am not one that love to be

will add a never-failing lustre to your character, when future ages shall read, how a few pages of your lordship's could alarm the representative body of the nation. I know your lordship had rather live in a blaze, than lie buried in obscurity; and would at any rate purchase immortality, though it be in flames. Fire, being a mounting element, is a proper emblem of your lordship's aspiring genius.

I shall detain your lordship no longer, but, according to your example, conclude with a short prayer (though praying, I confess, is not my talent)—May you never want opportunities of thus signalizing yourself, but be “transmitted to posterity,” under the character of one who dares sacrifice every thing that is most dear to you (even your own darling labours) to promote the inte-

the talk of the town; and in this part I confess I was uneasy, although, I think, the talk was very much in my favour. The complaint was made by Hungerford, and seconded by Manley, people that should indeed have been ordered to have burnt it, and thirded by what we call the Court, and carried by numbers without a wise word said against it. Sir Peter King, Sir Joseph Je-
kyll, Mr Lechmere, and others of the robe, were very strenuous advocates in its behalf, but to no purpose, for the court divided one hundred and nineteen, and my friends but fifty-four. If then design was to intimidate me, they have lost it utterly, or if to suppress the book, it happens much otherwise; for every body's curiosity is awakened by this usage, and the bookseller finds his account in it above any one else. The Spectator has conveyed above fourteen thousand of them into other people's hands, that would otherwise have never seen or heard of it. In a word, my lord, when I consider that these gentlemen have used me worse than I think they have used their own country, the Emperor, the States, the House of Hanover, and all our allies abroad, as well as all the bravest, wisest, and honestest men we have at home, I am more inclined to become vain, than any ways depressed at what has befallen me, and intend to set up for a man of merit upon this very stock.”

rest of our party ; and stand sainted in the Whig calendar, as a martyr for the cause ! This is the sincere wish of the greatest (next yourself) of your lordship's admirers,

WHARTON.

REMARKS

ON

BISHOP FLEETWOOD'S PREFACE.*

" Ecce iterum Crispinus "

THE Bishop of St Asaph's famous Preface having been so much buffeted of late between advocates and opposers, I had a curiosity to inspect some of his other works. I sent to the booksellers in Duck-lane and Little Britain, who returned me several of the sermons which belonged to that preface; among others, I took notice of that upon the death of the duke of Gloucester, which had a little preface of its own, and was omitted, upon mature deliberation, when those sermons were gathered up into a volume; though, considering the bulk, it could hardly be spared. It was a great masterpiece of art in this admirable author, to write such a sermon, as, by help of a preface, would pass for a Tory discourse in one reign, and, by omitting that preface, would deno-

* This second attack on the Bishop appeared in the 2d volume of the *Examiner*.

minate him a Whig in another · thus, by changing the position, the picture represents either the pope or the devil, the cardinal or the fool. I confess it was malicious in me, and what few others would have done, to rescue those sermons out of their dust and oblivion, without which, if the author had so pleased, they might have passed for new preached, as well as new printed: neither would the former preface have risen up in judgment to confound the latter. But, upon second thoughts, I cannot tell why this wilfully-forgotten preface may not do the reverend author some service. It is to be presumed, that the Spectator published the last with that intent: why, therefore, should not my publishing the first be for the same end? and I dare be confident, that the part I have chosen will do his lordship much more service, for here it will be found, that this prelate did, once in his life, think and write as became him; and that while he was a private clergyman, he could print a preface without fear of the hangman. I have chosen to set it at length, to prevent what might be objected against me, as an unfair representer, should I reserve any part of this admirable discourse, as well as to imitate the judicious Spectator;* though I fear I shall not have so good contributions from our party, as that author is said to have from another, upon the like

* Who is said in the bishop's letter, above quoted, to have circulated fourteen thousand copies of the Number containing the preface. The hour of publishing the Spectator was postponed till twelve o'clock upon the day that No. 384 was published. The reason was, that it was always presented with Queen Anne's breakfast, and Steele was determined to leave no time for examining its particular contents upon that occasion.

occasion ; or, if I chance to give offence, be promised to have my losses made up to me, for my zeal in circulating prefaces. Without any such deep and politic designs, I give it to the world out of mere good nature, that they may find what conceptions the worthy author has formerly had of things, when his business was yet undone ; so to silence a clamorous party, who, from the late preface, are too apt, how unjustly soever, to conclude, his lordship's principles are not agreeable to his preferments.

In this excellent preface, the worthy author thought fit to charge the fanatics and Whigs, upon the duke of Gloucester's death, as people that would " try to make it a judgment of God upon us for our sins, by turning the kingdom into a commonwealth." The satire must certainly be determined to them ; for neither the Tories nor Non-jurors were ever charged with such principles, but rather as carrying the legal authority too high, in asserting the divine right of kings. This species of government, which the learned prelate says, is " as ill fitted for our nature as popery is for our religion," was, by some people, it seems, endeavoured to be brought in, whom he terms " an impudent and clamorous faction." Whether that impudent and clamorous faction would really do all those things he charges them with, is by the Whigs denied, and charitable men may in part make a question : but that by this he did, and could then only mean the Whigs, could be no question at all, since none else were ever charged with those crimes in these kingdoms ; and they have always been so, though seldom indeed so heavily, unless by highflying Tories or Jacobites. It seems, his lordship had dreadful apprehensions of what they would " certainly do," and begs of

God “evermore to preserve us from this species.” And surely he was in the right; for that would be, indeed, “giving us we know not what”—his lordship’s enemies “will tell the rest with pleasure!’

A
COMPLETE REFUTATION
OF
THE FALSEHOODS ALLEGED AGAINST
ERASMUS LEWIS, Esq.

REFUTATION, &c.

ERASMUS LEWIS, our author's intimate friend, and a confidential agent of the ministers, had been accused of holding a correspondence with the court of St Germans, owing to the odd accident detailed in the following tract. Swift, in his *Journal*, thus expresses his design to vindicate him. "My friend Lewis has had a lie spread on him, by the mistake of a man, who went to another of his name, to give him thanks for passing his privy seal to come from France. That other Lewis spread about, that the man brought him thanks from Lord Peith and Lord Melfort (lords now with the pretender) for his great services, &c. The lords will examine that other Lewis to-morrow in council, and I believe you will hear of it in the prints, for I will make Abel Roper give an account of it." *Journal to Stella*, Jan. 27, 1712-13.

"I was in the city with my printer to alter an Examiner, about my friend Lewis's story, which will be told with remarks." *Ibid.* Jan. 31.

"I could do nothing till to-day about the Examiner; but the printer came this morning, and I dictated to him what was fit to be said, and then Mr Lewis came, and corrected it as he would have it, so that I was neither at church nor court." *Ibid.* Feb 1.

In spite, however, of all explanation, the more zealous Whigs continued to believe in a report so advantageous to their cause, as establishing an immediate correspondence between a confident of the ministry and the court of the Chevalier St George.

A
 COMPLETE REFUTATION
 OF
 THE FALSEHOODS ALLEGED AGAINST
 ERASMUS LEWIS, Esq.

“ Beware of counterfeits, for such are abroad.”
 Dr STAFFOLD’S Quack-bill.*

“ *Quin, quæ dixisti modo,*
“ Omnia ementitus equidem Sosia Amphitryonis sum.”
 PLAUT.

“ *Parca motu primo, mox sese attollit in auras.*”
 VIRG.

Feb. 2, 1712-13.

I INTEND this paper for the service of a particular person, but herein I hope, at the same time, to do some good to the public. A monstrous story has

* Thomas Stafford, a quack-doctor and astrologer, died 12th May 1691, as appears from his elegy in the Luttrell Collection. He may have had a successor, however, who enjoyed or assumed his venerable name.

been for a while most industiously handed about, reflecting upon a gentleman in great trust under the principal secretary of state; who has conducted himself with so much prudence, that, before this incident, neither the most virulent pens, nor tongues, have been so bold as to attack him. The reader easily understands, that the person here meant is Mr Lewis, secretary to the earl of Dartmouth; concerning whom a story has run, for about ten days past, which makes a mighty noise in this town, is no doubt, with very ample additions, transmitted to every part of the kingdom, and probably will be returned to us by the Dutch Gazetteer, with the judicious comments peculiar to that political author: wherefore, having received the fact and the circumstances from the best hands, I shall here set them down before the reader; who will easily pardon the style, which is made up of extracts from the depositions and assertions of the several persons concerned.

On Sunday last was month, Mr Lewis, secretary to the earl of Dartmouth, and Mr Skelton, met by accident at Mr Scarborough's lodgings in St James's, among seven other persons, viz. the earls of Sussex and Finlater, the lady Barbara Skelton, lady Walter, Mrs Vernon, Mrs Scarborough, and Miss Scarborough her daughter; who all declared, "that Mr Lewis and Mr Skelton were half an hour in company together." There Mrs Scarborough made Mr Skelton and Mr Lewis known to each other; and told the former, "that he ought to thank Mr Lewis for the trouble he had given himself in the dispatch of a license under the privy-seal, by which Mr Skelton was permitted to come from France to England." Hereupon Mr Skelton saluted Mr Lewis, and told him, "he

would wait on him at his house, to return him his thanks." Two or three days after, Mr Skelton, in company with the earl of Sussex, his lady's father, went to a house in Mailborough street, where he was informed Mr Lewis lived; and, as soon as the supposed Mr Lewis* appeared, Mr Skelton expressed himself in these words: "Sir, I beg your pardon, I find I am mistaken: I came to visit Mr Lewis of my lord Dartmouth's office, to thank him for the service he did me in passing my privy-seal" Mr Levi, *alias* Lewis, answered, "Sir, there is no harm done." Upon which, Mr Skelton immediately withdrew to my Lord Sussex, who staid for him in the coach; and drove away. Mr Skelton, who was a stranger to the town, ordered the coachman to drive to Mr Lewis's, without more particular directions; and this was the occasion of the mistake.

For above a fortnight nothing was said of this matter; but on Saturday, the 24th of January last, a report began to spread, that Mr Skelton, going by mistake to Mr Henry Levi, *alias* Lewis, instead of Mr Lewis of the secretary's office, had told him, "that he had services for him from the earls of Perth, Middleton, Melfort, and about twelve persons more of the court of St Germain" When Mr Lewis heard of this, he wrote to the above-mentioned Henry Levi, *alias* Lewis, desiring to be informed, what ground there was for this report; and received for answer, "that his friend Skelton could best inform him." Mr Lewis wrote a second letter, insisting on an account of this matter, and

* Mr Henry Lewis, a Hamburg merchant, and, from his being called also Levi, probably a German Jew.

that he would come and demand it in person. Accordingly, he and Charles Ford, Esq. went the next morning, and found the said Levi in a great surprise at the report, who declared, "he had never given the least occasion for it; and that he would go to all the coffee-houses in town, to do Mr Lewis justice." He was asked by Mr Lewis, "whether Mr Skelton had named from what places and persons he had brought those services?" Mr Levi, *alias* Lewis, answered, "he was positive Mr Skelton had neither named person nor place." Here Mr Skelton was called in, and Mr Levi, *alias* Lewis, confirmed what he had said in his hearing. Mr Lewis then desired he would give him in writing what he had declared before the company, but Mr Levi, *alias* Lewis, excused it as unnecessary, "because he had already said he would do him justice in all the coffee-houses in town." On the other hand, Mr Lewis insisted to have it in writing, as being less troublesome; and to this Mr Levi, *alias* Lewis, replied, "that he would give his answer by three o'clock in the afternoon." Accordingly, Mr Ford went to his house at the time appointed, but did not find him at home; and, in the mean time, the said Levi went to White's chocolate-house; where, notwithstanding all he had before denied, he spread the above-mentioned report afresh, with several additional circumstances, as, "that when Mr Skelton and the earl of Sussex came to his house, they staid with him a considerable time, and drank tea."

The earl of Peterborough, uncle to the said Mr Skelton, thought himself obliged to inquire into the truth of this matter: and, after some search, found Mr Levi, *alias* Lewis, at the Thatched-house tavern; where he denied every thing again to his

lordship, as he had done in the morning to Mr Ford, Mr Lewis, and Mr Skelton.

This affair coming to the knowledge of the queen, her majesty was pleased to order an examination of it by some lords of the council. Their lordships appointed Wednesday the 28th of January last for this inquiry : and gave notice for attendance to the said Levi, *alias* Lewis, and several other persons who had knowledge of the matter. When Mr Levi, *ahas* Lewis, was called in, he declared, " that Mr Skelton told him he had services for him from France, but did not name any persons." William Pulteney, Esq. who was summoned, affirmed, " that he had told him, Mr Skelton named the earls of Perth and Melfort." Here Levi, *alias* Lewis, appeared in confusion ; for he had entreated Mr Pulteney not to say he had named any names, " for he would not stand it ;" but Mr Pulteney answered, " you may give yourself the lie ; I will not." The earl of Sussex declared, " he did not go out of his coach, and that his son-in-law, Mr Skelton, had not been gone half a minute before he returned to the coach." Mr Skelton declared, " that he knew Mr Lewis by sight perfectly well ; that he immediately saw his mistake ; that he said nothing to him but the words first mentioned ; and that he had not brought Mr Lewis any service from any person whatsoever." The earl of Finlater, and other persons summoned, declared, " that Mr Lewis and Mr Skelton were personally known to each other," which rendered it wholly improbable that Mr Skelton should mistake him : so that the whole matter appeared to be only a foolish and malicious invention of the said Levi, *ahas* Lewis, who, when called to an account, utterly disowned it.

If Mr Levi's view, in broaching this incoherent slander, was to make his court to any particular persons, he has been extremely disappointed; since all men of principle, laying aside the distinction of opinions in politics, have entirely agreed in abandoning him; which I observe with a great deal of pleasure, as it is for the honour of humankind. But, as neither virtue nor vice are wholly engrossed by either party, the good qualities of the mind, whatever bias they may receive by mistaken principles or mistaken politics, will not be extinguished. When I reflect on this, I cannot, without being a very partial writer, forbear doing justice to William Pulteney, Esq. who, being desired by this same Mr Levi to drop one part of what he knew, refused it with disdain. Men of honour will always side with the truth; of which the behaviour of Mr Pulteney, and of a great number of gentlemen of worth and quality, are undeniable instances.

I am only sorry, that the unhappy author of this report seems left so entirely desolate of all his acquaintance, that he has nothing but his own conduct to direct him; and, consequently, is so far from acknowledging his iniquity and repentance to the world, that, in the Daily Courant of Saturday last, he has published a Narrative, as he calls it, of what passed between him and Mr Skelton; wherein he recedes from some part of his former confession. This narrative is drawn up by way of answer to an advertisement in the same paper two days before: which advertisement was couched in very moderate terms, and such as Mr Levi ought, in all prudence, to have acquiesced in. I freely acquit every body but himself from any share in this miserable proceeding; and can foretel him, that as his prevaricating manner of adhe-

ring to some part of the story will not convince one rational person of his veracity, so neither will any body interpret it otherwise than as a blunder of a helpless creature left to itself; who endeavours to get out of one difficulty by plunging into a greater. It is, therefore, for the sake of this poor young man, that I shall set before him, in the plainest manner I am able, some few inconsistencies in that narrative of his, the truth of which, he says, he is ready to attest upon oath, which whether he would avoid by an oath only upon the gospels, himself can best determine.

Mr Levi says, in the aforesaid narrative in the Daily Courant, "that Mr Skelton, mistaking him for Mr Lewis, told him he had several services to him from France, and named the names of several persons, which he [Levi] will not be positive to." Is it possible, that, among several names, he cannot be positive so much as to *one*, after having named the earls of Perth, Middleton, and Melfort, so often at White's and the coffee-houses? Again, he declared, "that my lord Sussex came in with Mr Skelton; that both drank tea with him;" and therefore, whatever words passed, my lord Sussex must be a witness to. But his lordship declares before the council, "that he never stirred out of the coach; and that Mr Skelton, in going, returning, and talking with Levi, was not absent half a minute." Therefore, now, in his printed narrative, he contradicts that essential circumstance of my lord Sussex coming in along with Mr Skelton, so that we are here to suppose that this discourse passed only between him and Mr Skelton, without any third person for a witness, and therefore he thought he might safely affirm what he pleased.

Besides, the nature of their discourse, as Mr Levi reports it, makes this part of his narrative impossible and absurd, because the truth of it turns upon Mr Skelton's mistaking him for the real Mr Lewis ; and it happens, that seven persons of quality were by in a room, where Mr Lewis and Mr Skelton were half an hour in company, and saw them talk together. It happens, likewise, that the real and counterfeit Lewis have no more resemblance to each other in their persons, than they have in their understandings, their truth, their reputation, or their principles. Besides, in this narrative, Mr Levi directly affirms what he directly denied to the earl of Peterborough, Mr Ford, and Mr Lewis himself, to whom he twice or thrice expressly affirmed, that Mr Skelton had not named either place or person.

There is one circumstance in Levi's narrative, which may deceive the reader. He says, " Mr Skelton was taken into the dining-room," this dining-room is a ground-room next the street, and Mr Skelton never went farther than the door of it. His many prevarications in this whole affair, and the many thousand various ways of telling his story, are too tedious to be related. I shall, therefore, conclude with one remark : By the true account, given in this paper, it appears, that Mr Skelton, finding his mistake before he spoke a word, begged Mr Levi's pardon, and, by way of apology, told him, " his visit was intended to Mr Lewis of my lord Dartmouth's office, to thank him for the *service* he had done him, in passing the privy-seal." It is probable, that Mr Levi's low intellectuals were deluded by the word *service*, which he took as compliments from some persons ; and then it was easy to find names. Thus, what his

ignorance and simplicity misled him to begin, his malice taught him to propagate.

I have been the more solicitous to set this matter in a clear light, because Mr Lewis being employed and trusted in public affairs, if this report had prevailed, persons of the first rank might possibly have been wounded through his sides.

A

PREFACE

TO THE

BISHOP OF SARUM'S INTRODUCTION

TO THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

By GREGORY MISOSARUM.

Spargere voccs

In vulgum ambiguas, et quærere conscius arma.

PUBLISHED DEC. 8, 1713

PREFACE, &c.

THE celebrated Bishop Burnet, with many estimable qualities, had much of that bustling vanity, which inclines writers too frequently to parade themselves and their works in the eye of the public. In this spirit, when about to publish the third volume of his "History of the Reformation," he thought proper first to send forth the Introduction in the shape of a pamphlet, to excite the attention of the world, and inform them of the treat which he had prepared for them. This was in 1714, and the book itself did not appear until the year following. Swift, who hated the prelate, fell upon this unnecessary precursor of his third volume with unrelenting severity. "He treats him," says Dr Johnson, "like one whom he is glad of an opportunity to insult."

The Introduction, no doubt, exhibited strong symptoms of personal vanity, and was marked by the usual defects of Burnet's style. But the principal objects of the satirist's wrath are those obtestations with which the bishop calls upon all his readers to beware of the imminent danger of popery. This implied, that it was the object of the Tory ministry to bring in the pope and the pretender; an insinuation which Swift reprobates in his bitterest tone of irony.

As the Bishop had prefaced his Introduction with a note, addressed to the bookseller, Swift has given us a parody of its contents.

TO

THE BOOKSELLER.

MR MORPHEW,

YOUR care in putting an advertisement in the Examiner has been of very great use to me. I now send you my Preface to the bishop of Sarum's Introduction to his third volume, which I desire you to print in such a form, as, in the bookseller's phrase, will make a sixpenny touch; hoping it will give such a public notice of my design, that it may come into the hands of those who perhaps look not into the bishop's introduction. I desire you will prefix to this a passage out of Virgil, which does so perfectly agree with my present thoughts of his lordship, that I cannot express them better, nor more truly, than those words do.

I am,

Sir,

Your humble servant.

A

P R E F A C E*

TO THE

BISHOP OF SARUM'S INTRODUCTION, &c.

THIS way of publishing introductions to books, that are God knows when to come out, is either wholly new, or so long unpractised, that my small reading cannot trace it. However, we are to suppose that a person of his lordship's great age and experience, would hardly act such a piece of singularity, without some extraordinary motives. I cannot but observe, that his fellow-labourer, the author of the paper called the Englishman, † seems, in some of his late performances, to have almost transcribed the notions of the bishop. these notions I take to have been dictated by the same masters, leaving to each writer that peculiar man-

* Mr Nichols quotes from the *Speculum Sarisburianum*, "That the frequent and hasty repetitions of such prefaces and introductions, no less than three new ones in about one year's time, beside an old serviceable one republished concerning persecution—are preludes to other practical things, beside pastoral cares, sermons, and histories."

† Steele.

ner of expressing himself, which the poverty of our language forces me to call their style. When the Guardian changed his title, and professed to engage in faction, I was sure the word was given; that grand preparations were making against next session, that all advantages would be taken of the little dissensions reported to be among those in power; and that the Guardian would soon be seconded by some other piqueeers from the same camp. But I will confess my suspicions did not carry me so far, as to conjecture, that this venerable champion would be in such mighty haste to come into the field, and serve in the quality of an *enfant perdu*,* armed only with a pocket pistol, before his great blunderbuss could be got ready, his old rusty breastplate scoured, and his cracked headpiece mended.

I was debating with myself, whether this hint of producing a small pamphlet to give notice of a large folio, was not borrowed from the ceremonial in Spanish romances, where a dwarf is sent out upon the battlements, to signify to all passengers what a mighty giant there is in the castle; or whether the bishop copied this proceeding from the *sanfarronade* of monsieur Boufflers, when the earl of Portland and that general had an interview. Several men were appointed, at certain periods, to ride in great haste toward the English camp, and cry out, *monseigneur vient, monseigneur vient*: then small parties advancing with the same speed, and the same cry; and this foppery held for many hours, until the mareschal himself arrived. So here the bishop (as we find by his dedication to Mr Churchill the bookseller) has for a long time

* *Enfant perdu*, one of the advanced guard.

sent warning of his arrival by advertisements in gazettes; and now his introduction advances to tell us again, *monseigneur vient* · in the mean time we must gape, and wait, and gaze, the Lord knows how long, and keep our spirits in some reasonable agitation, until his lordship's real self shall think fit to appear, in the habit of a folio *

I have seen the same sort of management at a puppetshow. Some puppets of little or no consequence appeared several times at the window, to allure the boys and the rabble. the trumpeter sounded often, and the doorkeeper cried a hundred times, until he was hoarse, that they were just going to begin, yet, after all, we were forced sometimes to wait an hour before Punch himself in person made his entry.

But why this ceremony among old acquaintance? The world and he have long known one another let him appoint his hour, and make his visit, without troubling us all day with a succession of messages from his lackeys and pages.

With submission, these little aits of getting off an edition, do ill become any author above the size of Marten the surgeon. My lord tells us that "many thousands of the two former parts of his history are in the kingdom," and now he perpetually advertises in the gazette, that he intends to publish the third. This is exactly in the method and style of Marten. "the seventh edition (many thousands of the former editions having been sold off in a small time) of Mr Marten's book concerning secret diseases," &c.

* And, as if to make good the comparison, when his lordship did at length come forth in *quarto*, he did not deem the introduction formerly published sufficiently full and solemn, but prefixed to it a preface of fourteen pages.

Does his lordship intend to publish his great volume by subscription, and is this introduction only by way of specimen? I was inclined to think so, because in the prefixed letter to Mr Churchill, which introduces this introduction, there are some dubious expressions: he says, "the advertisements he published were in order to move people to furnish him with materials, which might help him to finish his work with great advantage." If he means half-a-guinea upon the subscription, and the other half at the delivery, why does he not tell us so in plain terms?

I am wondering how it came to pass, that this diminutive letter to Mr Churchill should understand the business of introducing, better than the introduction itself, or why the bishop did not take it into his head to send the former into the world some months before the latter, which would have been a greater improvement upon the solemnity of the procession?

Since I writ these last lines, I have perused the whole pamphlet, (which I had only dipped in before) and found I have been hunting upon a wrong scent, for the author has, in several parts of his piece, discovered the true motives, which put him upon sending it abroad at this juncture, I shall therefore consider them as they come in my way.

My lord begins his introduction with an account of the reasons, why he was guilty of so many mistakes in the first volume of his History of the Reformation. his excuses are just, rational, and extremely consistent. He says, "he wrote in haste," which he confirms by adding, "that it lay a year after he wrote it before it was put into the press." At the same time he mentioned a passage extremely to the honour of that pious and excellent prelate, archbishop Sancroft, which demonstrates his

grace to have been a person of great sagacity, and almost a prophet. Doctor Burnet, then a private divine, "desired admittance to the Cotton library, but was prevented by the archbishop, who told Sir John Cotton, that the said doctor was no friend to the prerogative of the crown, or to the constitution of the kingdom"* This judgment was the more extraordinary, because the doctor had, not long before, published a book in Scotland, with his name prefixed, which carries the regal prerogative higher than any writer of the age.† however, the good archbishop lived to see his opinion become universal in the kingdom.

The bishop goes on, for many pages, with an account of certain facts relating to the publishing

* The statement is mitigated in the Introduction as it now stands "The present bishop of Worcester carried me to Sir John Cotton, to ask admittance. But a great prelate had been beforehand with us, and had possessed him with such prejudices against me, as being no friend to the prerogative of the crown, nor to the constitution of our church, that he said, (as he was prepared) that unless the archbishop of Canterbury and a secretary of state would recommend me, as a person fit to have access to the library, he desired to be excused. And though that worthy prelate said he would be answerable for the use that I should make of it, yet he could not be prevailed on to depart from the answer that he had made us. Nor could that reverend person prevail with archbishop Sancroft to interpose. And though I offered to deliver up all the collections I had made to any person that would undertake the work, yet no regard was had to that. So I saw it was resolved on, either not to let the work go on, or at least, that I should not have the honour to be employed in it."—BURNET'S *History of the Reformation*. London, 1715.

† This was Burnet's "Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland," dedicated to the duke of Lauderdale, and published in 1672. The dedication contains an eulogium of the duke, and the work a defence of episcopacy and monarchy against Buchanan and his followers. At a later period, the author did not probably recollect this juvenile publication with much complacence.

of his two former volumes of the Reformation; the great success of that work, and the adversaries who appeared against it. These are matters out of the way of my reading, only I observe that poor Mr Henry Wharton, who has deserved so well of the commonwealth of learning, and who gave himself the trouble of detecting some hundreds of the bishop's mistakes, meets with very ill quarter from his lordship, upon which, I cannot avoid mentioning a peculiar method which this prelate takes to revenge himself upon those who presume to differ from him in print. The bishop of Rochester * happened some years ago to be of this number. My lord of Sarum, in his reply, ventured to tell the world, that the gentleman who had writ against him, meaning Dr Atterbury, was one upon whom he had conferred great obligations, which was a very generous christian contrivance of charging his adversary with ingratitude. But it seems the truth happened to be on the other side, which the doctor made appear in such a manner as would have silenced his lordship for ever, if he had not been writing proof. Poor Mr Wharton, in his grave, is charged with the same accusation, but with circumstances the most aggravating that malice and something else could invent; and which I will no more believe than five hundred passages in a certain book of travels. † See the character he gives of a divine and a scholar, who shortened his life in the service of God and the church. "Mr Wharton ‡ desired me to

* Dr Atterbury.

† Burnet's Travels.

‡ "The next attack that was made on my work, was in the year 1693, under the title of, 'A Specimen of some errors and defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England, by Anthony Farmer.' It is well known that was a disguised name, and that the author was Mr Henry Wharton, who had published

intercede with Tillotson for a piebend of Canterbury. I did so, but Wharton would not believe it; said he would be revenged, and so writ against

two volumes, with the title of *Angha Sacra*. He had examined the dark ages before the Reformation with much diligence, and so knew many things relating to those times beyond any man of the age; he pretended that he had many more errors in reserve, and that this specimen was only a hasty collection of a few, out of many other discoveries he could make. This consisted of some trifling and minute differences in some dates and transactions of no importance, upon which nothing depended, so I cannot tell whether I took these too easily from printed books, or if I committed any errors in my notes taken in the several offices. He likewise follows me through the several recapitulations I had made of the state of things before the Reformation, and finds errors and omissions in most of these, he adds some things out of papers I had never seen. The whole was writ with so much malice, and such contempt, that I must give some account of the man, and of his motives. He had expressed great zeal against popery, in the end of king James's reign, being then chaplain to archbishop Sancroft, who, as he said, had promised him the first of those prebends of Canterbury that should fall in his gift: for when he saw that the archbishop was resolved not to take the oaths, but to forsake the post, he made an earnest application to me, to secure that for him at archbishop Tillotson's hands. I pressed him in it as much as was decent for me to do, but he said he would not encourage these aspiring men, by promising any thing before it should fall, as indeed none of them fell during his time. Wharton upon this answer thought I had neglected him, looking on it as a civil denial, and said he would be revenged; and so he published that specimen: upon which, I, in a letter that I printed, addressed to the present bishop of Worcester, charged him again and again to bring forth all that he pretended to have reserved at that time, for till that was done I would not enter upon the examination of that specimen. It was received with contempt, and Tillotson justified my pressing him to take Wharton under his particular protection so fully, that he sent and asked me pardon. He said he was set on to it, and that if I would procure any thing for him, he would discover any thing to me. I despised that offer, but said that I would at any price buy of him those discoveries that he pretended to have in reserve. But Mr Chiswell (at whose house he then lay,) being sick, said he could draw nothing of that from him, and he believed he had nothing. He died about a year after."—BURNET'S *History of the Reformation*, III. vii.

me. Soon after, he was convinced I had spoke for him; said he was set on to do what he did, and if I would procure any thing for him, he would discover every thing to me." What a spirit of candour, charity, and good nature, generosity and truth, shines through this story, told of a most excellent and pious divine, twenty years after his death, without one single voucher!

Come we now to the reasons, which moved his lordship to set about this work at this time. "He could delay it no longer, because the reasons of his engaging in it at first, seemed to return upon him." He was then frightened with "the danger of a popish successor in view, and the dreadful apprehensions of the power of France. England has forgot these dangers, and yet is nearer to them than ever," and therefore he is resolved to "awaken them" with his third volume, but, in the mean time, sends this introduction to let them know they are asleep. He then goes on in describing the condition of the kingdom, after such a manner, as if destruction hung over us by a single hair; as if the pope, the devil, the pretender, and France, were just at our doors.

When the bishop published his history, there was a popish plot on foot the duke of York, a known papist, was presumptive heir to the crown the House of Commons would not hear of any expedient for securing their religion under a popish prince, nor would the king, or lords, consent to a bill of exclusion; the French king was in the height of his grandeur, and the vigour of his age. At this day the presumptive heir, with that whole illustrious family, are protestants, the popish pretender excluded for ever by several acts of parliament, and every person in the smallest employ-

ment, as well as the members of both Houses obliged to abjure him. The French king is at the lowest ebb of life, his armies have been conquered, and his towns won from him for ten years together, and his kingdom is in danger of being torn by divisions during a long minority. Are these cases parallel? or are we now in more danger of France and popery than we were thirty years ago? what can be the motive for advancing such false, such detestable assertions? what conclusions would his lordship draw from such premises as these? if injurious appellations were of any advantage to a cause, (as the style of our adversaries would make us believe,) what appellations would those deserve, who thus endeavour to sow the seeds of sedition, and are impatient to see the fruits? "But," saith he, "the deaf adder stoppeth her ears, let the chameleon chime never so wisely." True, my lord, there are indeed too many adders in this nation's bosom, adders in all shapes, and in all habits, whom neither the queen nor parliament can chain to loyalty, truth, religion, or honour.

Among other instances produced by him of the dismal condition we are in, he offers one which could not easily be guessed. It is this, "that the little factious pamphlets written about the end of King Charles II's reign lie dead in shops, are looked on as waste paper, and turned to paste-board." How many are there of his lordship's writings, which could otherwise never have been of any real service to the public? Has he indeed so mean an opinion of our taste, to send us at this time of day into all the corners of Holbourn, Duck-lane, and Moorfields, in quest after the factious trash published in those days by Julian

Johnson,* Hickeingil,† Di Oates, and himself?

His lordship taking it for a *postulatum*, that the queen and ministry, both houses of parliament, and a vast majority of the landed gentlemen throughout England, are running headlong into popery, lays hold on the occasion to describe “the cruelties in Queen Mary’s reign, an inquisition setting up faggots in Smithfield, and executions all over the kingdom Here is that,” says he, “which those that look toward a popish successor, must look for” And he insinuates through his whole pamphlet, that all who are not of his party “look toward a popish successor” These he divides into two parts, the Tory laity, and the Tory clergy He tells the former “although they have no religion at all, but resolve to change with every wind and tide, yet they ought to have compassion on their countrymen and kindred” Then he applies himself to the Tory clergy, assures them, that “the fires revived in Smithfield, and all over the nation, will have no amiable view, but least of all to them, who, if they have any principles at all, must be turned out of their livings, leave their families, be hunted from place to place into parts beyond the seas, and meet with that contempt with which they treated foreigners, who took sanctuary among us.”

* The Rev. Samuel Johnson, degraded from his clerical rank, scourged, and imprisoned, for a work called, “Julian’s arts to undermine Christianity,” in which he drew a parallel between that apostate, and James, then Duke of York.

† Edmund Hickeingil, a fanatic preacher at Colchester. He appears, from the various pamphlets which he wrote during the reigns of Charles II. and his brother, to have been a meddling crazy fool.

This requires a recapitulation, with some remarks. First, I do affirm, that in every hundred of professed atheists, deists, and socinians in the kingdom, ninety-nine at least are staunch thorough-paced Whigs, entirely agreeing with his lordship in politics and discipline, and therefore will venture all the fires of Hell, rather than singe one hair of their beards in Smithfield. Secondly, I do likewise affirm, that those whom we usually understand by the appellation of Tory or high-church clergy, were the greatest sticklers against the exorbitant proceedings of King James the Second, the best writers against popery, and the most exemplary sufferers for the established religion. Thirdly, I do pronounce it to be a most false and infamous scandal upon the nation in general, and on the clergy in particular, to reproach them for "treating foreigners with haughtiness and contempt." The French huguenots are many thousand witnesses to the contrary; and I wish they deserved the thousandth part of the good treatment they have received.*

Lastly, I observe, that the author of a paper called the Englishman, has run into the same cant, gravely advising the whole body of the clergy not to bring in popery, because that will put them under a necessity of parting with their wives, or losing their livings.

The bulk of the kingdom, both clergy and laity, happen to differ extremely from this prelate, in many principles both of politics and religion. Now I ask, whether, if any man of them had signed his name to a system of atheism, or popery, he could have argued with them otherwise than

* These fugitives being Calvinists, Swift always speaks of them with dislike and contempt, as an accession to the dissenters.

he does? or, if I should write a grave letter to his lordship with the same advice, taking it for granted that he was half an atheist and half a papist, and conjuring him by all he held dear to have compassion upon all those who believed a God; "not to revive the fires in Smithfield, that he must either forfeit his bishoprick, or not marry a fourth wife,"* I ask, whether he would not think I intended him the highest injury and affront?

But as to the Tory laity, he gives them up in a lump for abandoned atheists, they are a set of men so "impiously corrupted in the point of religion, that no scene of cruelty can fright them from leaping into it, (popery,) and perhaps acting such a part in it as may be assigned them." He therefore despairs of influencing them by any topics drawn from religion or compassion, and advances the consideration of interest, as the only powerful argument to persuade them against popery.

What he offers upon this head is so very amazing from a christian, a clergyman, and a prelate of the church of England, that I must, in my own imagination, strip him of those three capacities, and put him among the number of that set of men he mentions in the paragraph before; or else it will be impossible to shape out an answer.

His lordship, in order to dissuade the Tories from their design of bringing in popery, tells them, "how valuable a part of the whole soil of England the abbey lands, the estates of the bishops, of the cathedrals, and the tithes are," how difficult such a resumption would be to many families, "yet all these must be thrown up, for sa-

* Bishop Burnet had already married three spouses.

cuilege, in the church of Rome, is a mortal sin " I desue it may be observed, what a jumble here is made of ecclesiastical revenues, as if they were all upon the same foot, were alienated with equal justice, and the clergy had no more reason to complain of the one than the other, whereas the four branches mentioned by him are of very different consideration If I might venture to guess the opinion of the clergy upon this matter, I believe they could wish that some small part of the abbey lands had been applied to the augmentation of poor bishopricks, and a very few acres to serve for glebes in those parishes where there are none, after which, I think they would not repine that the laity should possess the rest If the estates of some bishops and cathedrals were exorbitant before the Reformation, I believe the present clergy's wishes reach no farther, than that some reasonable temper had been used, instead of paying them to the quick But as to the tithes, without examining whether they be of divine institution, I conceive there is hardly one of that sacred order in England, and very few even among the laity who love the church, who will not allow the misapplying of those revenues to secular persons, to have been at first a most flagrant act of injustice and oppression; although, at the same time, God forbid they should be restored any other way than by gradual purchase, by the consent of those who are now the lawful possessors, or by the piety and generosity of such worthy spirits as this nation sometimes produces The bishop knows very well, that the application of tithes to the maintenance of monasteries, was a scandalous usurpation, even in popish times, that the monks usually sent out some of their fraternity to supply the cuies, and that when the monaste-

ies were granted away by Henry VIII, the parishes were left destitute, or very meanly provided, of any maintenance for a pastor. So that in many places, the whole ecclesiastical dues, even to mortuaries, Easter-offerings, and the like, are in lay hands, and the incumbent lies wholly at the mercy of his patron for his daily bread. By these means, there are several hundred parishes in England under twenty pounds a year, and many under ten. I take his lordship's bishoprick to be worth near £500 l annual income: and I will engage, at half a year's warning, to find him above a hundred beneficed clergymen, who have not so much among them all to support themselves and their families, most of them orthodox, of good life and conversation; as loth to see the fires kindled in Smithfield as his lordship, and at least as ready to face them under a popish persecution. But nothing is so hard for those who abound in riches, as to conceive how others can be in want. How can the neighbouring vicar feel cold or hunger, while my lord is seated by a good fire, in the warmest room in his palace, with a dozen dishes before him? I remember one other prelate much of the same stamp, who, when his clergy would mention their wishes that some act of parliament might be thought of for the good of the church, would say, "Gentlemen, we are very well as we are, if they would let us alone, we should ask no more."

"Sacrilege," says my lord, "in the church of Rome is a mortal sin;" and is it only so in the

* The reflection was very unjustly flung upon Burnet, who, in 1704, distinguished himself by his zeal in forwarding a scheme for improving the livings of the poorer clergy.

church of Rome ? or is it but a venial sin in the church of England ? Our litany calls fornication a deadly sin ; and I would appeal to his lordship for fifty years past, whether he thought that or sacrilege the deadliest ? To make light of such a sin, at the same moment that he is frightening us from an idolatrous religion, should seem not very consistent “ Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery ? Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege ? ”

To smooth the way for the return of popery in Queen Mary's time, the grants were confirmed by the pope in the possession of the abbey lands. But the bishop tells us, that “ this confirmation was fraudulent and invalid.” I shall believe it to be so, although I happen to read it in his lordship's history. But he adds, “ that although the confirmation had been good, the priests would have got their land again by these two methods ; first, the statute of mortmain was repealed for twenty years ; in which time, no doubt, they reckoned they would recover the best part of what they had lost, beside that engaging the clergy to renew no leases, was a thing entirely in their own power, and this in forty years time would raise their revenues to be about ten times their present value ’ These two expedients for increasing the revenues of the church, he represents as pernicious designs, fit only to be practised in times of popery, and such as the laity ought never to consent to, whence, and from what he said before about tithes, his lordship has freely declared his opinion, that the clergy are rich enough, and that the least addition to their subsistence would be a step toward popery. Now it happens, that the two only methods, which

could be thought on, with any probability of success, toward some reasonable augmentation of ecclesiastical revenues, are here rejected by a bishop, as a means for introducing popery, and the nation publicly warned against them; whereas the continuance of the statute of mortmain in full force, after the church had been so terribly stripped, appeared to her majesty and the kingdom a very unnecessary hardship; upon which account it was at several times relaxed by the legislature. Now, as the relaxation of that statute is manifestly one of the reasons which gives the bishop those terrible apprehensions of popery coming on us; so, I conceive, another ground of his fears, is, the remission of the first-fruits and tenths. But where the inclination to popery lay, whether in her majesty who proposed this benefaction, the parliament which confirmed, or the clergy who accepted it, his lordship has not thought fit to determine.

The other popish expedient for augmenting church-revenues, is, "engaging the clergy to renew no leases." Several of the most eminent clergymen have assured me, that nothing has been more wished for by good men, than a law to prevent bishops, at least, from setting leases for lives. I could name ten bishopricks in England, whose revenues one with another do not amount to 600 pounds a year for each, and if his lordship's, for instance, would be above ten times the value when the lives are expired, I should think the overplus would not be ill disposed, toward an augmentation of such as are now shamefully poor. But I do assert, that such an expedient was not always thought popish and dangerous by this right reverend historian. I have had the honour formerly to converse with him, and

he has told me several years ago, that he lamented extremely the power which bishops had of letting leases for lives, whereby, as he said, they were utterly deprived of raising their revenues, whatever alterations might happen in the value of money by length of time. I think the reproach of betraying private conversation, will not upon this account be laid to my charge. Neither do I believe he would have changed his opinion upon any score, but to take up another more agreeable to the maxims of his party, "that the least addition of property to the church, is one step toward popery."

The bishop goes on with much earnestness and prolixity to prove, that the pope's confirmation of the church lands, to those who held them by King Henry's donation, was null and fraudulent; which is a point that I believe no protestant in England would give threepence to have his choice whether it should be true or false. It might indeed serve as a passage in his history, among a thousand other instances, to detect the knavery of the court of Rome; but I ask, where could be the use of it in this introduction? or why all this haste in publishing it at this juncture, and so out of all method apart, and before the work itself? He gives his reasons in very plain terms, we are now, it seems, "in more danger of popery than toward the end of King Charles the Second's reign. That set of men (the Tories) is so impiously corrupted in the point of religion, that no scene of cruelty can frighten them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting such a part in it as may be assigned them." He doubts whether the high-church clergy have any principles; and therefore will be ready to turn off their wives, and look on the fires kindled in Smithfield as an

amiable view. These are the facts he all along takes for granted, and argues accordingly. Therefore, in despair of dissuading the nobility and gentry of the land from introducing popery, by any motives of honour, religion, alliance, or mercy, he assures them, "That the pope has not duly confirmed their titles to the church lands in their possession," which therefore must be infallibly restored, as soon as that religion is established among us.

Thus, in his lordship's opinion, there is nothing wanting to make the majority of the kingdom, both for number, quality, and possession, immediately embrace popery, except a "firm bull from the pope," to secure the abbey and other church lands and tithes to the present proprietors and their heirs, if this only difficulty could now be adjusted, the pretender would be restored next session, the two Houses reconciled to the church of Rome against Easter term, and the fires lighted in Smithfield by Midsummer. Such horrible calumnies against a nation are not the less injurious to decency, good nature, truth, honour, and religion, because they may be vented with safety, and I will appeal to any reader of common understanding, whether this be not the most natural and necessary deduction from the passages I have cited and referred to.

Yet all this is but friendly dealing, in comparison with what he affords the clergy upon the same article. He supposes that whole reverend body, who differ from him in principles of church or state, so far from disliking popery upon the above-mentioned motives of perjury, "quitting their wives, or burning their relations;" that the hopes of "enjoying the abbey lands" would soon bear down all such considerations, and be an effectual

incitement to their peiversion ; and so he goes gravely on, as with the only argument which he thinks can have any force, to assure them, that the “parochial priests in Roman catholic countries are much poorer than in ours, the several orders of regulars, and the magnificence of their church, devouring all their treasure,” and by consequence, “their hopes are vain of expecting to be richer after the introduction of popeiy.”

But, after all, his lordship despairs that even this argument will have any force with our abominable cleigy, because, to use his own words, “They are an insensible and degenerate race, who are thinking of nothing but their present advantages, and so that they may now support a luxurious and brutal course of irregular and voluptuous practices, they are easily hired to betray their religion, to sell their country, and give up that liberty and those properties, which are the present felicities and glories of this nation’

He seems to reckon all these evils as matters fully determined on, and therefore falls into the last usual form of despair, by threatening the authors of these miseries with “lasting infamy, and the curses of posterity upon perfidious betrayers of their trust”

Let me turn this paragraph into vulgar language, for the use of the poor, and strictly adhere to the sense of the words. I believe it may be faithfully translated in the following manner. “The bulk of the cleigy, and one third of the bishops, are stupid sons of whores, who think of nothing but getting money as soon as they can ; if they may but procure enough to supply them in gluttony, drunkenness, and whoring, they are ready to turn traitors to God and their country, and make their fellow-subjects slaves.” The rest

of the period about threatening infamy, and the curses of posterity upon such dogs and villains, may stand as it does in the bishop's own phrase; and so make the paragraph all of a piece

I will engage, on the other side, to paraphrase all the rogues and rascals in the Englishman, so as to bring them up exactly to his lordship's style, but, for my own part, I much prefer the plain Billingsgate way of calling names, because it expresses our meaning full as well, and would save abundance of time, which is lost by circumlocution, so, for instance, John Dunton, who is retained on the same side with the bishop, calls my lord-treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke traitors, whoremongers, and jacobites; which three words cost our right reverend author thrice as many lines to define them, and I hope his lordship does not think there is any difference in point of morality, whether a man calls me traitor in one word, or says, I am one "hired to betray my religion, and sell my country."

I am not surprised to see the bishop mention with contempt all convocations of the clergy;† for Toland, Asgill, Monmouth, Collins, Tindal, and others of the fraternity, talk the very same language. His lordship confesses he is not inclined "to expect much from the assemblies of clergymen." There lies the misfortune, for if he,

* A bookseller, who, having failed in his own trade, was imprudent enough to commence author, in which he was not more successful

† The bishop confesses "he has seen nothing in church history to incline him to depart from Gregory Nazianzen's opinion of those assemblies," who never wished to see any more synods of the clergy.

and some more of his order, would collect their inclinations, a great deal of good might be expected from such assemblies; as much as they are now cramped by that submission, which a corrupt clergy brought upon their innocent successors. He will not deny that his copiousness in these matters is, in his own opinion, one of the meanest parts of his new work. I will agree with him, unless he happens to be more copious in any thing else. However, it is not easy to conceive, why he should be so copious upon a subject he so much despises, unless it were to gratify his talent of railing at the clergy, in the number of whom he disdains to be reckoned, because he is a bishop, for it is a style I observed some prelates have fallen into of late years, to talk of clergymen, as if themselves were not of the number. You will read in many of their speeches at Dr Sacheverel's trial, expressions to this or the like effect: "My lords, if clergymen be suffered," &c wherein they seem to have reason, and I am pretty confident, that a great majority of the clergy were heartily inclined to disown any relation they had to the managers in law. However, it was a confounding argument against presbytery, that those prelates, who are most suspected to lean that way, treated their inferior brethren with haughtiness, rigour, and contempt; although, to say the truth, nothing better could be hoped for, because I believe it may pass for a universal rule, that in every diocese governed by bishops of the Whig species, the clergy, (especially the poorer sort,) are under double discipline, and the laity left to themselves. The opinion of Sir Thomas Moore, which he produces to prove the ill consequences, or insignificance of convoca-

tions, advances no such thing ; but says, "If the clergy assembled often, and might act as other assemblies of clergy in Christendom, much good might have come, but the misfortune lay in their long disuse, and that in his own, and a good part of his father's time, they never came together, except at the command of the prince."

I suppose his lordship thinks there is some original impediment in the study of divinity, or secret incapacity in a gown and cassock without lawn, which disqualifies all inferior clergymen from debating upon subjects of doctrine or discipline in the church. It is a famous saying of his, "that he looks upon every layman, to be an honest man, until he is by experience convinced to the contrary ; and on every clergyman, as a knave, until he finds him to be an honest man." What opinion then must we have of a Lower House of Convocation,† where, I am confident, he will hardly find three persons that ever convinced him of their honesty, or will ever be at the pains to do it? Nay, I am afraid they would think such a conviction might be no very advantageous bargain, to gain the character of an honest man with his lordship, and lose it with the rest of the world.

In the famous concordate that was made between Francis I of France, and Pope Leo X, the bishop tells us, that "the king and pope came to

* See Sir Thomas Moore's Apology, 1533, p.241.

† It must not be forgotten, that, during the reign of Queen Anne, the body of the clergy were high-church men, but the bishops, who had chiefly been promoted since the Revolution, were Whiggish in politics, and moderate in their sentiments of church government. Hence the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation rarely agreed in sentiment on affairs of church or state.

a bargain, by which they divided the liberties of the Gallican church between them, and indeed quite enslaved it." He intends in the third part of his History, which he is going to publish, "to open this whole matter to the world" In the mean time, he mentions some ill consequences to the Gallican church from that concordate, which are worthy to be observed "The church of France became a slave, and this change in their constitution put an end not only to national, but even to provincial synods in that kingdom The assemblies of the clergy there meet now only to give subsidies," &c. and he says, "our nation may see by that proceeding, what it is to deliver up the essential liberties of a free constitution to a court."

All I can gather from this matter is, that our King Henry made a better bargain than his contemporary Francis, who divided the liberties of the church between himself and the Pope, while the King of England seized them all to himself. But how comes he to number the want of synods in the Gallican church among the grievances of that concordate, and as a mark of their slavery, since he reckons all convocations of the clergy in England to be useless and dangerous? Or what difference in point of liberty was there, between the Gallican church under Francis, and the English under Harry? For the latter was as much a papist as the former, unless in the point of obedience to the see of Rome; and in every quality of a good man, or a good prince, (except personal courage, wherein both were equal) the French monarch had the advantage, by as many degrees as is possible for one man to have over another.

Henry VIII. had no manner of intention to change religion in his kingdom; he continued to

persecute and burn protestants, after he had cast off the Pope's supremacy ; and I suppose this seizure of ecclesiastical revenues (which Francis never attempted) cannot be reckoned as a mark of the church's liberty. By the quotation the bishop sets down to show the slavery of the French church, he represents it as a grievance, that " bishops are not now elected there as formerly, but wholly appointed by the prince ; and that those, made by the court, have been ordinarily the chief advancers of schisms, heresies, and oppressions of the church " He cites another passage from a Greek writer, and plainly insinuates, that it is justly applicable to her majesty's reign : " Princes choose such men to that charge (of a bishop) who may be their slaves, and in all things obsequious to what they prescribe, and may lie at their feet, and have not so much as a thought contrary to their commands "

These are very singular passages for his lordship to set down, in order to show the dismal consequences of the French concordate, by the slavery of the Gallican church, compared with the freedom of ours. I shall not enter into a long dispute, whether it were better for religion, that bishops should be chosen by the clergy, or people, or both together. I believe our author would give his vote for the second, (which however would not have been of much advantage to himself, and some others that I could name,) but I ask, Whether bishops are any more elected in England than in France ? And the want of synods are, in his own opinion, rather a blessing than a grievance, unless he will affirm that more good can be expected from a popish synod, than an English convocation. Did the French clergy ever receive a greater blow to their liberties, than

the submission made to Henry the Eighth; or so great a one, as the seizure of their lands? The Reformation owed nothing to the good intentions of King Henry. he was only an instrument of it (as the logicians speak) by accident, nor does he appear, throughout his whole reign, to have had any other views than those of gratifying his insatiable love of power, cruelty, oppression, and other irregular appetites. But this kingdom, as well as many other parts of Europe, was, at that time, generally weary of the corruptions and impositions of the Roman court and church; and disposed to receive those doctrines which Luther and his followers had universally spread. Cranmer the archbishop, Cromwell, and others of the court, did secretly embrace the Reformation; and the king's abrogating the pope's supremacy, made the people in general run into the new doctrine with greater freedom, because they hoped to be supported in it by the authority and example of their prince; who disappointed them so far, that he made no other step than rejecting the pope's supremacy, as a clog upon his own power and passions, but retained every corruption besides, and became a cruel persecutor, as well of those who denied his own supremacy, as of all others who professed any protestant doctrine. Neither has any thing disgusted me more in reading the histories of those times, than to see one of the worst princes of any age or country, celebrated as an instrument in that glorious work of the Reformation.*

The bishop, having gone over all the matters

* It is, however, obvious, that, in Swift's opinion, Henry's worst fault was, his despoiling the church lands.

that properly fall within his introduction, proceeds to expostulate with several sorts of people: first, with protestants who are no Christians, such as atheists, deists, freethinkers, and the like enemies to Christianity: but these he treats with the tenderness of a friend, because they are all of them of sound Whig principles in church and state. However, to do him justice, he lightly touches some old topics for the truth of the Gospel: and concludes, by "wishing that the freethinkers would consider well, if (*Anglice*, whether) they think it possible to bring a nation to be without any religion at all; and what the consequences of that may prove;" and in case they allow the negative, he gives it clearly for Christianity.

Secondly, he applies himself (if I take his meaning right) to Christian papists, "who have a taste of liberty;" and desires them to "compare the absurdity of their own religion, with the reasonableness of the reformed:" against which, as good luck would have it, I have nothing to object.

Thirdly, he is somewhat rough against his own party, "who, having tasted the sweets of protestant liberty, can look back so tamely on popery coming on them;" it looks as if they were bewitched, or that the devil were in them, to be so negligent. "It is not enough that they resolve not to turn papists themselves; they ought to awaken all about them, even the most ignorant and stupid, to apprehend their danger, and to exert themselves with their utmost industry to guard against it, and to resist it. If, after all their endeavours to prevent it, the corruption of the age, and the art and power of our enemies, prove too hard for us; then, and not until then,

we must submit to the will of God, and be silent; and prepare ourselves for all the extremity of suffering and of misery," with a great deal more of the same strain.

With due submission to the profound sagacity of this prelate, who can smell popery at five hundred miles distance, better than fanaticism just under his nose, I take leave to tell him, that this reproof to his friends for want of zeal, and clamour against popery, slavery, and the pretender, is what they have not deserved. Are the pamphlets and papers daily published by the sublime authors of his party, full of any thing else? Are not the queen, the ministers, the majority of lords and commons, loudly taxed in print, with this charge against them at full length? Is it not the perpetual echo of every Whig coffee-house and club? Have they not quartered popery and the pretender upon the peace and treaty of commerce; upon the possessing, and quieting, and keeping, and demolishing of Dunkirk? Have they not clamoured, because the pretender continued in France, and because he left it? Have they not reported that the town swarmed with many thousand papists; when, upon search, there were never found so few of that religion in it before? If a clergyman preaches obedience to the higher powers, is he not immediately traduced as a papist? Can mortal man do more? To deal plainly, my lord, your friends are not strong enough yet to make an insurrection, and it is unreasonable to expect one from them, until their neighbours be ready.

My lord, I have a little seriousness at heart upon this point, where your lordship affects to show so much. When you can prove, that one single word has ever dropped from any minister of state,

in public or private, in favour of the pretender, or his cause; when you can make it appear that in the course of this administiation, since the queen thought fit to change her servants, there has one step been made toward weakening the Hanover title, or giving the least countenance to any other whatsoever; then, and not until then, go dry your chaff and stubble, give fire to the zeal of your faction, and reproach them with lukewarmness.

Fourthly, the bishop applies himself to the Tories in general; taking it for granted, after his charitable manner, that they are all ready prepared to introduce popery. He puts an excuse into their mouths, by which they would endeavour to justify their change of religion: "Popery is not what it was before the Reformation: things are now much mended, and farther corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a treaty with them: in particular, they see the error of proceeding severely with heretics; so that there is no reason to apprehend the returns of such cruelties, as were practised an age and a half ago."

This, he assures us, is a plea offered by the Tories in defence of themselves, for going about at this juncture to establish the popish religion among us: What argument does he bring to prove the fact itself?

*Quibus indicus, quo teste, probavit?
Nil horum. verbosa et grandis epistola venit.*

Nothing but this tedious Introduction, wherein he supposes it all along as a thing granted. That there might be a perfect union in the whole Christian church, is a blessing which every good man wishes, but no reasonable man can hope. That

the more polite Roman catholics have, in several places, given up some of their superstitious fopperies, particularly concerning legends, relics, and the like, is what nobody denies. But the material points in difference between us and them, are universally retained and asserted, in all their controversial writings. And if his lordship really thinks that every man who differs from him, under the name of a Tory, in some church and state opinions, is ready to believe transubstantiation, purgatory, the infallibility of pope or councils, to worship saints and angels, and the like; I can only pray God to enlighten his understanding, or graft in his heart the first principles of charity; a virtue which some people ought not by any means wholly to renounce, because it covers a multitude of sins.

Fifthly, the bishop applies himself to his own party in both Houses of Parliament, whom he exhorts to "guard their religion and liberty against all danger, at what distance soever it may appear. If they are absent and remiss on critical occasions;" that is to say, if they do not attend close next sessions, to vote upon all occasions whatever, against the proceedings of the queen and her ministry, "or if any views of advantage to themselves prevail on them." in other words, if any of them vote for the bill of commerce, in hopes of a place or a pension, a title, or a garter; "God may work a deliverance for us another way," (that is to say, by inviting the Dutch) "but they and their families," *i. e.* those who are negligent or revolters, "shall perish;" by which is meant they shall be hanged, as well as the present ministry and their abettors, as soon as we recover our power; "because they let in idolatry, superstition, and tyranny;" because they

stood by and suffered the peace to be made, the bill of commerce to pass, and Dunkirk to lie undemolished longer than we expected, without raising a rebellion.

His last application is to the Tory clergy, a parcel of "blind, ignorant, dumb, sleeping, greedy, drunken dogs."^q A pretty artful episcopal method is this, of calling his brethren as many injurious names as he pleases. It is but quoting a text of Scripture, where the characters

* The Bishop's apostrophe is really extremely violent.

"But, in the last place, Those who are appointed to be the watchmen, who ought to give warning, and to lift up their voice as a trumpet, when they see those wolves ready to break in and devour the flock, have the heaviest account of all others to make, if they neglect their duty; much more if they betray their trust. If they are so set on some smaller matters, and are so sharpened upon that account, that they will not see their danger, nor awaken others to see it, and to fly from it, the guilt of those souls who have perished by their means, God will require at their hands. If they, in the view of any advantage to themselves, are silent when they ought to cry out day and night, they will fall under the character given by the prophet, of the watchmen in his time. 'They are blind, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber. Yea, they are greedy dogs, which can never have enough. And they are shepherds that cannot understand, they all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter, that say, come, I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink; to-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant.'

"This is a lively description of such pastors as will not so much as study controversies, and that will not know the depth of Satan, that put the evil day far off, and, as the men in the days of Noah or Lot, live on at their ease, satisfying themselves in running round a circle of dry and dead performances; that do neither awaken themselves, nor others. When the day of trial comes, What will they say? To whom will they fly for help? Their spirits will either sink within them, or they will swim with the tide. The cry will be, the Church, the Church, even when all is ruin and desolation."—*Burnet's History of the Reformation*, III. p. xxii.

of evil men are described, and the thing is done : and at the same time the appearances of piety and devotion preserved. I would engage, with the help of a good Concordance, and the liberty of perverting holy writ, to find out as many injurious appellations, as the Englishman throws out in any of his politic papers, and apply them to those persons " who call good evil, and evil good," to those who cry without cause, " Every man to his tent, O Israel ! and to those who curse the queen in their hearts !"

These decent words, he tells us, make up a " lively description of such pastors as will not study controversy, nor know the depths of Satan " He means, I suppose, the controversy between us and the papists ; for, as to the free-thinkers and dissenters of every denomination, they are some of the best friends to the cause. Now I have been told, there is a body of that kind of controversy published by the London divines, which is not to be matched in the world. I believe likewise, there is a good number of the clergy at present thoroughly versed in that study ; after which, I cannot but give my judgment, that it would be a very idle thing for pastors in general to busy themselves much in disputes against popery ; it being a dry heavy employment of the mind at best, especially when (God be thanked) there is so little occasion for it, in the generality of parishes throughout the kingdom, and must be daily less and less, by the just severity of the laws, and the utter aversion of our people from that idolatrous superstition.

If I might be so bold as to name those who have the honour to be of his lordship's party, I would venture to tell him, that pastors have much more occasion to study controversies against the

several classes of freethinkers and dissenters : the former (I beg his lordship's pardon for saying so) being a little worse than papists, and both of them more dangerous at present to our constitution both in church and state. Not that I think presbytery so corrupt a system of Christian religion as popery ; I believe it is not above one third as bad : but I think the presbyterians, and their clans of other fanatics, or freethinkers and atheists that dangle after them, are as well inclined to pull down the present establishment of monarchy and religion, as any set of papists in Christendom ; and therefore, that our danger, as things now stand, is infinitely greater from our protestant enemies ; because they are much more able to ruin us, and full as willing. There is no doubt but that presbytery, and a commonwealth, are less formidable evils than popery, slavery, and the pretender ; for, if the fanatics were in power, I should be in more apprehension of being starved, than burned. But, there are probably in England forty dissenters of all kinds, including their brethren the freethinkers, for one papist ; and, allowing one papist to be as terrible as three dissenters, it will appear by arithmetic, that we are thirteen times and one third, more in danger of being ruined by the latter, than the former.

The other qualification necessary for all pastors, if they will not be " blind, ignorant, greedy, drunken dogs," &c. is " to know the depths of Satan." This is harder than the former ; that a poor gentleman ought not to be parson, vicar, or curate of a parish, except he be cunninger than the devil. I am afraid it will be difficult to remedy this defect, for one manifest reason, because whoever had only half the cunning of the devil, would

never take up with a vicarage of ten pounds a-year, "to live on at his ease," as my lord expresses it; but seek out for some better livelihood. His lordship is of a nation very much distinguished for that quality of cunning, (although they have a great many better,) and I think he was never accused for wanting his share. However, upon a trial of skill, I would venture to lay six to four on the devil's side, who must be allowed to be at least the older practitioner. Telling truth shames him, and resistance makes him fly; but to attempt outwitting him, is to fight him at his own weapon, and consequently no cunning at all. Another thing I would observe, is, that a man may be "in the depths of Satan," without knowing them all; and such a man may be so far in Satan's depths, as to be out of his own. One of the depths of Satan is, to counterfeit an angel of light. Another, I believe, is, to stir up the people against their governors by false suggestions of danger. A third is, to be a prompter to false brethren, and to send wolves about in sheeps clothing. Sometimes he sends jesuits about England in the habit and cant of fanatics; at other times, he has fanatic missionaries in the habits of ———. I shall mention but one more of Satan's depths; for I confess I know not the hundredth part of them; and that is, to employ his emissaries in crying out against remote imaginary dangers, by which we may be taken off from defending ourselves against those which are really just at our elbows.

But his lordship draws toward a conclusion, and bids us "look about, to consider the danger we are in before it is too late;" for he assures us, we are already "going into some of the worst parts of popery;" like the man who was so much in haste for his new coat, that he put it on, the

wrong side out. "Auricular confession, priestly absolution, and the sacrifice of the mass," have made great progress in England, and nobody has observed it: several other "popish points are carried higher with us, than by the priests themselves" and somebody, it seems, had the "impudence to propose a union with the Gallican church"* I have indeed heard, that Mr Lesley† published a discourse to that purpose, which I have never seen; nor do I perceive the evil in proposing a union between any two churches in Christendom. Without doubt, Mr Lesley is most unhappily misled in his politics; but if he be the author of the late tract against popery, ‡ he has given the world such a proof of his soundness in religion, as many a bishop ought to be proud of. I never saw the gentleman in my life: I know he is the son of a great and excellent prelate, who,

* Swift here disowns a charge loudly urged by the Whigs of the time against the high churchmen. There were, however, strong symptoms of a nearer approach on their part to the church of Rome. Hickes, the head of the Jacobite writers, had insinuated, that there was a proper sacrifice in the eucharist; Brett had published a sermon on the doctrine of priestly absolution as essential to salvation; Dodwell had written against lay-baptism, and his doctrine at once excluded all the dissenters, (whose teachers are held as lay-men) from the pale of Christianity, and, upon the whole, there was a general disposition among the clergy to censure, if not the Reformation itself, at least the mode in which it was carried on.

† Charles Lesley, the celebrated nonjuror, the second son of Dr John Lesley, bishop of Clogher in Ireland. He published a Jacobite paper, called the *Rehearsal*, and was a strenuous assertor of divine right, but he was also so steady a protestant, that he went to Bar-le-Duc to convert the Chevalier de St George from the errors of Rome.

‡ The Case stated between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, 1713.

upon several accounts, was one of the most extraordinary men of his age. Mr Lesley has written many useful discourses upon several subjects, and has so well deserved of the Christian religion, and the church of England in particular, that, to accuse him of "impudence for proposing a union" in two very different faiths, is a style which I hope few will imitate. I detest Mr Lesley's political principles, as much as his lordship can do for his heart; but I verily believe he acts from a mistaken conscience, and therefore I distinguish between the principles and the person. However, it is some mortification to me, when I see an avowed nonjuror contribute more to the confounding of popery, than could ever be done by a hundred thousand such introductions as this.

His lordship ends with discovering a small ray of comfort. "God be thanked, there are many among us that stand upon the watch-tower, and that give faithful warning; that stand in the breach, and make themselves a wall for their church and country; that cry to God day and night, and lie in the dust mourning before him, to avert those judgments that seem to hasten toward us. They search into the mystery of iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themselves with that mass of corruption that is in popery." He prays, "that the number of these may increase, and that he may be of that number, ready either to die in peace, or to seal that doctrine he has been preaching above fifty years, with his blood." This being his last paragraph, I have made bold to transcribe the most important parts of it. His design is to end, after the manner of orators, with leaving the strongest impression possible upon the minds of his hearers. A great breach is made; "the mystery of popish iniquity

is working among us; may God avert those judgments that are hastening toward us! I am an old man, a preacher above fifty years, and I now expect, and am ready to die a martyr, for the doctrines I have preached." What an amiable idea does he here leave upon our minds, of her majesty and her government! He has been poring so long upon Fox's book of martyrs, that he imagines himself living in the reign of queen Mary, and is resolved to set up for a knight-errant against popery. Upon the supposition of his being in earnest, (which I am sure he is not,) it would require but a very little more heat of imagination, to make a history of such a knight's adventures. What would he say to behold the fires kindled in Smithfield, and all over the town, on the seventeenth of November; to behold the pope borne in triumph on the shoulders of the people, with a cardinal on the one side, and the pretender on the other? he would never believe it was queen Elizabeth's day, but that of her persecuting sister: in short, how easily might a windmill be taken for the whore of Babylon, and a puppet-show for a popish procession?

But enthusiasm is none of his lordship's faculty. I am inclined to believe, he might be melancholy enough when he writ this Introduction. The despair, at his age, of seeing a faction restored, to which he has sacrificed so great a part of his life; the little success he can hope for, in case he should resume those high-church principles, in defence of which he first employed his pen; no visible expectation of removing to Farnham or Lambeth; and, lastly, the misfortune of being hated by every one, who either wears the habit, or values the profession of a clergyman;—no wonder such a spirit, in such a situation, is provoked

beyond the regards of truth, decency, religion, or self-conviction. To do him justice, he seems to have nothing else left, but to cry out, halts, gibbets, faggots, inquisition, popery, slavery, and the pretender. But, in the mean time, he little considers what a world of mischief he does to his cause. It is very convenient for the present designs of that faction, to spread the opinion of our immediate danger from popery and the pretender. His directors therefore ought, in my humble opinion, to have employed his lordship in publishing a book, wherein he should have affirmed, by the most solemn asseverations, that all things were safe and well; for the world has contracted so strong a habit of believing him backward, that I am confident nine parts in ten of those who have read or heard of his Introduction, have slept in greater security ever since. It is like the melancholy tone of a watchman at midnight, who thumps with his pole as if some thief were breaking in; but you know by the noise that the door is fast.

However, he "thanks God there are many among us who stand in the breach:" I believe they may; it is a breach of their own making, and they design to come forward, and storm and plunder, if they be not driven back. "They make themselves a wall for their church and country." A south wall, I suppose, for all the best fruit of the church and country to be nailed on. Let us examine this metaphor. The wall of our church and country, is built of those who love the constitution in both. Our domestic enemies undermine some parts of the wall, and place themselves in the breach, and then they cry, "We are the wall!" We do not like such patchwork; they build with untempered mortar, nor can they ever cement with us, till they get better materials, and better

workmen. God keep us from having our breaches made up with such rubbish ! “ They stand upon the watch-tower !” they are indeed pragmatical enough to do so ; but who assigned them that post, to give us false intelligence, to alarm us with false dangers, and send us to defend one gate, while their accomplices are breaking in at another ? “ They cry to God day and night to avert the judgment of popery, which seems to hasten toward us.” Then I affirm, they are hypocrites by day, and filthy dreamers by night. when they cry unto him, he will not hear them ; for they cry against the plainest dictates of their own conscience, reason, and belief.

But, lastly, “ they lie in the dust, mourning before him.” Hang me, if I believe that, unless it be figuratively spoken. But suppose it to be true, why do “ they lie in the dust ?” Because they love to raise it. For what do “ they mourn ?” Why, for power, wealth, and places. There, let the enemies of the queen, and monarchy, and the church, lie and mourn, and lick the dust, like serpents, till they are truly sensible of their ingratitude, falsehood, disobedience, slander, blasphemy, sedition, and every evil work.

I cannot find in my heart to conclude, without offering his lordship a little humble advice, upon some certain points.

First, I would advise him, if it be not too late in his life, to endeavour a little at mending his style, which is mighty defective in the circumstances of grammar, propriety, politeness, and smoothness.* I fancied at first it might be ow-

* In Swift's notes on Burnet's History of his Own Times, he points out many instances of the deficiency here stated.

ing to the prevalence of his passion, as people sputter out nonsense for haste, when they are in a rage. And, indeed, I believe this piece before me has received some additional imperfections from that occasion. But whoever has heard his sermons, or read his other tracts, will find him very unhappy in the choice and disposition of his words, and, for want of variety, repeating them, especially the particles, in a manner very grating to an English ear. But I confine myself to this Introduction, as his last work, where, endeavouring at rhetorical flowers, he gives us only bunches of thistles: of which I could present the reader with a plentiful crop; but I refer him to every page and line of the pamphlet itself.

Secondly, I would most humbly advise his lordship to examine a little into the nature of truth, and sometimes to hear what she says. I shall produce two instances among a hundred. When he asserts, that we are "now in more danger of popery, than toward the end of king Charles the Second's reign;" and gives the broadest hints, that the queen, the ministry, the parliament, and the clergy, are just going to introduce it; I desire to know, whether he really thinks truth is of his side, or whether he be not sure she is against him? If the latter, then truth and he will be found in two different stories; and which are we to believe? Again, when he gravely advises the Tories not to "light the fires in Smithfield," and goes on in twenty places, already quoted, as if the bargain was made for popery and slavery to enter; I ask again, whether he has rightly considered the nature of truth? I desire to put a parallel case. Suppose his lordship should take it into his fancy to write and publish a letter to any gentleman, of no infamous character for his reli-

gion or morals ; and there advise him, with great earnestness, not to rob or fire churches, ravish his daughter, or murder his father ; show him the sin and the danger of these enormities ; that, if he flattered himself he could escape in disguise, or bibe his juy, he was grievously mistaken ; that he must, in all probability, forfeit his goods and chattels, die an ignominious death, and be cursed by posterity ; ---would not such a gentleman justly think himself highly injured, although his lordship did not affirm, that the said gentleman had picklocks or combustibles ready ; that he had attempted his daughter, and drawn his sword against his father in order to stab him ? whereas, in the other case, this writer affirms over and over, that all attempts for introducing popery and slavery are already made, the whole business concerted, and that little less than a miracle can prevent our ruin.

Thirdly, I could heartily wish his lordship would not undertake to charge the opinions of one or two, and those probably nonjurors, upon the whole body of the nation that differs from him. Mr Lesley writ a " proposal for a union with the Gallican church : " somebody else has " carried the necessity of priesthood, in the point of baptism, farther than popery . " a third has " asserted the independency of the church on the state, and in many things arraigned the supremacy of the crown ; " then he speaks in a dubious insinuating way, as if some other popish tenets had been already advanced : and at last concludes in this affected strain of despondency ; " what will all these things end in ? and on what design are they driven ? alas, it is too visible ! it is as clear as the sun, that these authors are encouraged by the mi-

nistry, with a design to bring in popery ; and in popery all these things will end.

I never was so uncharitable as to believe, that the whole party, of which his lordship professes himself a member, had a real formed design of establishing atheism among us. The reason why the Whigs have taken the atheists, or freethinkers, into their body, is, because they wholly agree in their political scheme, and differ very little in church power and discipline. However, I could turn the argument against his lordship with very great advantage, by quoting passages from fifty pamphlets, wholly made up of whiggism and atheism, and then conclude, " what will all these things end in ? and on what design are they driven ? alas, it is too visible !"

Lastly, I would beg his lordship not to be so exceedingly outrageous upon the memory of the dead ; because it is highly probable, that in a very short time he will be one of the number. He has, in plain words, given Mr Whatton the character of a most malicious, revengeful, treacherous, lying, mercenary villain To which I shall only say, that the direct reverse of this amiable description, is what appears from the works of that most learned divine, and from the accounts given me by those who knew him much better than the bishop seems to have done. I meddle not with the moral part of his treatment. God Almighty forgive his lordship this manner of revenging himself¹ and then there will be but little consequence from an accusation which the dead cannot feel, and which none of the living will believe.

THE
IMPORTANCE OF THE GUARDIAN
CONSIDERED ;

IN
A SECOND LETTER

TO THE
BAILIFF OF STOCKBRIDGE.

BY A FRIEND OF MR STEELE

FIRST PRINTED IN 1713.

IMPORTANCE OF THE GUARDIAN CONSIDERED.

ALTHOUGH the demolition of Dunkirk was one of the chief advantages stipulated for England by the peace of Utrecht, the court of France made some efforts to evade or suspend the performance of that article. Monsieur Tugghe was sent a deputy from the inhabitants of the place, to solicit the queen to spare at least the mole and harbour of Dunkirk. Being a person of that perseverance which his very name seems to imply, he was not satisfied with a single refusal, but presented a second memorial, of most ornate composition, in which he prays her Majesty "to cause her thunderbolts to fall only on the martial works, which might have incurred her displeasure," but to spare "the mole and dykes, which, in their naked condition, could for the future be only an object of pity." Steele, who was then engaged in the conduct of the Guardian, took fire at the undaunted and reiterated solicitations of Monsieur Tugghe; and, in No. 128, printed an animated reply to his memorial, in a letter to Nestor Ironside, signed English Tory. In this letter he desires Mr Ironside to inform Monsieur Tugghe,

"That the British nation expect the immediate demolition of it.

"That the very common people know, that within three* months after the signing of the peace, the works toward the sea were to be demolished, and within three months after it, the works toward the land.

"That the said peace was signed the last of March, O S.

"That the parliament has been told from the queen, that the equivalent for it is in the hands of the French king.

"That the Sieur Tugghe has the impudence to ask the queen to remit the most material part of the articles of peace betwixt her majesty and his master.

"That the British nation received more damage in their trade from the port of Dunkirk, than from almost all the ports of France, either in the Ocean, or the Mediterranean."

* A mistake for "two" months

The letter proceeds, in the same authoritative and earnest strain, to set forth the dangers of delay in this matter, and it is no less than thrice reiterated, that "the British nation *expect* the immediate demolition of Dunkirk." The Examiner, and other Tory writers, thundered against the mode of expression adopted by the Guardian, as insulting to the queen, and amounting to little less than treason. Steele, who was just returned one of the members for the borough of Stockbridge, in Dorsetshire, for the new parliament, then about to meet, reprinted the letter, in a pamphlet, entitled, "The Importance of Dunkirk considered, in a defence of the Guardian, in a Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge."

Swift, whose ancient friendship for Steele had long given way to political antipathy, and who, perhaps, beheld with no favourable eye his promotion as a member of the legislature, took an opportunity to humble any pride he might derive from his seat in parliament, by the following violent attack upon his person, as well as his principles.

This pamphlet was, with great difficulty, recovered by the exertions of Mr Nichols, who advertised for it without effect for some time. It was written after Swift's return from Ireland in 1713, and seems to have been published just before the sitting of parliament in that year.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

MR STEELE, in his "Letter of the Bailiff of Stockbridge," has given us leave "to treat him as we think fit, as he is our brother scribbler; but not to attack him as an honest man," p. 40. That is to say, he allows us to be his critics, but not his answerers; and he is altogether in the right, for there is in his letter much to be criticised, and little to be answered. The situation and importance of Dunkirk are pretty well known. Mons. Tugghe's memorial, published and handed about by the Whigs,* is allowed to be a very trifling paper; and, as to the immediate demolition of that town, Mr Steele pretends to offer no other argument but the expectations of the people, which is a figurative speech, naming the tenth part for the whole; as Bradshaw told king Charles I., that the people of England expected justice against him. I have therefore entered very little into the subject he pretends to treat; but have considered his pamphlet partly as a critic, and partly as a commentator; which, I think, is "to treat him only as my brother scribbler," according to the permission he has graciously allowed me.

* Toland, the deist, in a tract, entitled, "Dunkirk, or Dover," retorted this charge; alleging, that Tugghe's memorial was printed and hawked through the streets by express authority of an agent of the ministers.

TO

THE WORSHIPFUL

MR JOHN SNOW,

BAILIFF OF STOCKBRIDGE.

SIR,

I HAVE just been reading a twelvepenny pamphlet about Dunkirk, addressed to your worship from one of your intended representatives; and I find several passages in it which want explanation, especially to you in the country: for we in town have a way of talking and writing, which is very little understood beyond the bills of mortality. I have therefore made bold to send you here a second letter, by way of comment upon the former.

In order to this, "You, Mr Bailiff, and at the same time the whole borough," may please to take notice, that London writers often put titles to their papers and pamphlets, which have little or no reference to the main design of the work. so, for instance, you will observe in reading, that the letter called, "The Importance of Dunkirk," is wholly taken up in showing you the importance of Mr Steele, wherein it was indeed reasonable your borough should be informed, which had chosen him to represent them

I would therefore place the importance of this

gentleman before you in a clearer light than he has given himself the trouble to do, without running into his early history, because I owe him no malice.

Mr Steele is author of two tolerable plays, * or at least of the greatest part of them ; which, added to the company he kept, and to the continual conversation and friendship of Mr Addison, has given him the character of a wit. To take the height of his learning, you are to suppose a lad just fit for the university, and sent early from thence into the wide world, where he followed every way of life that might least improve, or preserve the rudiments he had got. † He has no invention, nor is master of a tolerable style ; his chief talent is humour, which he sometimes discovers both in writing and discourse ; for, after the first bottle, he is no disagreeable companion. I never knew him taxed with ill nature, which has made me wonder how ingratitude came to be his prevailing vice, and I am apt to think it proceeds more from some unaccountable sort of instinct, than premeditation. Being the most imprudent man alive, he never follows the advice of his friends, but is wholly at the mercy of fools or knaves, or hurried away by his own caprice ; by which he has committed more absurdities in economy, friendship, love, duty, good manners, politics, religion, and writing, than ever fell to one man's share. He was appointed gazetteer by Mr Harley, (then secretary of state) at the recom-

* He had already written three---the Funeral, the Tender Husband, and the Lying Lover.

† Steele was educated at the Charter-House, but, instead of going to the University, he entered as a private gentleman in the Horse-guards, from which rank he was raised to be an ensign, and secretary to Lord Cutts.

mendation of Mr Maynwaring, with a salary of three hundred pounds; was a commissioner of stamped paper, of equal profit; and had a pension of a hundred pounds per annum, as a servant* to the late prince George.

This gentleman, whom I have now described to you, began, between four and five years ago, to publish a paper thrice a-week, called the Tatler. It came out under the borrowed name of Isaac Bickerstaff, and, by contribution of his ingenious friends, grew to have a great reputation, and was equally esteemed by both parties, because it meddled with neither. But, some time after Sacheverel's trial, when things began to change their aspect, Mr Steele, whether by the command of his superiors, his own inconstancy, or the absence of his assistants, would needs corrupt his paper with politics; published one or two most virulent libels, and chose for his subject even that individual, Mr Hailey, who had made him gazetteer.† But, his finger and thumb not proving strong enough to stop the general torrent, there was a universal change made in the ministry; and the two new secretaries, not thinking it decent to employ a man in their office who had acted so infamous a part, Mr Steele, to avoid being discarded, thought fit to resign his place of gazetteer. Upon which occasion, I cannot forbear relating a passage "to you, Mr Bailiff, and the rest of the borough," which discovers a very peculiar turn of thought in this gentleman you have chosen to

* Gentleman Usher.

† The paper which gave most offence, was that in which a parallel is drawn between the affairs of the stage and of the kingdom. It is supposed to have been written by Maynwaring, and is No. 193 of the Tatler.

represent you. When Mr Maynwaring* recommended him to the employment of gazetteer, Mr Harley, out of an inclination to encourage men of parts, raised that office from fifty pounds to three hundred pounds a-year. Mr Steele, according to form, came to give his new patron thanks; but the secretary, who would rather confer a hundred favours than receive acknowledgments for one, said to him, in a most obliging manner, "Pray, sir, do not thank me; but thank Mr Maynwaring." Soon after Mr Steele's quitting that employment, he complained to a gentleman in office of the hardship put upon him in being forced to quit his place; that he knew Mr Harley was the cause; that he never had done Mr Harley any injury, nor received any obligation from him. The gentleman, amazed at this discourse, put him in mind of those libels published in his *Tatlers*. Mr Steele said, he was only the publisher, for they had been sent him by other hands. The gentleman thinking this a very monstrous kind of excuse, and not allowing it, Mr Steele then said, "Well, I have libelled him, and he has turned me out, and so we are equal." But neither would this be granted, and he was asked, whether the place of gazetteer were not an obligation? "No," said he, "not from Mr Harley, for, when I went to thank him, he forbade me, and said, I must only thank Mr Maynwaring."

* Arthur Maynwaring, a man of taste and letters at this period. His original principles were violently Jacobitical, but, becoming a commissioner of the customs, and auditor of the imposts under Godolphin's administration, he became an equally keen Whig, and conducted the *Medley*, by which paper the Examiner was often successfully opposed. He died in 1712, leaving his fortune to be divided between his sister, Mrs Oldfield, and a son whom he had by that celebrated actress.

But I return, Mr Bailiff, to give you a farther account of this gentleman's importance. In less, I think, than two years, the town and he grew weary of the Tatler: he was silent for some months; and then a daily paper came from him and his friends, under the name of Spectator, with good success; this being likewise dropped after a certain period, he has of late appeared under the style of Guardian, which he has now likewise quitted for that of Englishman; but, having chosen other assistance, or trusting more to himself, his papers have been very coldly received, which has made him fly for relief to the never-failing source of faction.

In the beginning of August last, Mr Steele writes a letter to Nestor Ironside, Esq, and subscribes it with the name of "English Tory." On the 7th, the said Ironside publishes this letter in the Guardian. How shall I explain this matter to you, Mr Bailiff, and your brethren of the borough? You must know then, that Mr Steele and Mr Ironside are the same persons, because there is a great relation between Iron and Steel, and English Tory and Mr Steele are the same persons, because there is no relation at all between Mr Steele and an English Tory; so that, to render this matter clear to the very meanest capacities, Mr English Tory, the very same person with Mr Steele, writes a letter to Nestor Ironside, Esq, who is the same person with English Tory, who is the same person with Mr Steele and Mr Ironside, who is the same person with English Tory, publishes the letter written by English Tory, who is the same person with Mr Steele, who is the same person with Mr Ironside. This letter, written and published by these three gentlemen, who are one of your representatives, complains of a

printed paper in French and English, lately handed about the town, and given gratis to passengers in the streets at noon day; the title whereof is, "A most humble Address, or Memorial, presented to her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, by the Deputy of the Magistrates of Dunkirk." This deputy, it seems, is called the *Sieur Tugghe*. Now, the remarks made upon this memorial by Mr English Tory, in his letter to Mr Ironside, happening to provoke the Examiner* and another pamphleteer, † they both fell hard upon Mr Steele, charging him with insolence and ingratitude toward the queen. But Mr Steele, nothing daunted, writes a long letter "to you, Mr Bailiff, and at the same time to the whole borough," in his own vindication. But, there being several difficult passages in this letter, which may want clear-

* "I believe," says the Examiner, speaking of the *Guardian*, then just published, "I may challenge all the nations of the world, and all the histories of this nation for a thousand years past, to shew us an instance so flagrant, as what we have now before us, viz. whenever a subject, nay a servant under a salary, and favoured, in spite of ill behaviour past, with a considerable employ in the government, treated his sovereign in such a manner as the *Guardian* has done the person of the queen, and went unpunished."

† The other pamphlet is entitled, "The honour and prerogative of the Queen's Majesty vindicated and defended against the unexampled insolence of the Author of the *Guardian*, in a Letter from a country Whig to Mr Steele." It is even more scurrilous in its charge than the Examiner, and comments thus upon the words, "the British nation expect the immediate demolition of Dunkirk." "Now," says he, "read the words, what is it but thus 'Look you, madam, your majesty had best take care that Dunkirk be demolished, or else,' &c. and again, 'Madam, we expect, that Dunkirk be demolished immediately.' Just thus an imperious planter at Barbadoes speaks to a negro slave. 'Look you, sirrah, I expect this sugar to be ground, and look to it that it be done forthwith. It is enough to tell you *I expect it, or else,*' &c., and then he holds up his stick at him."

ing up, I here send you and the borough my annotation upon it.

Mr Steele, in order to display his importance to your borough, begins his letter by letting you know "he is no small man," p. 1, because, in the pamphlets he has sent you down, you will "find him spoken of more than once in print" It is indeed a great thing to be "spoken of in print," and must needs make a mighty sound at Stockbridge among the electors. However, if Mr Steele has really sent you down all the pamphlets and papers printed since the dissolution, you will find he is not the only person of importance; I could instance Abel Roper, Mr Maiten the surgeon, Mr John Moore the apothecary at the pestle and mortar, sir William Read her majesty's oculist, and, of later name and fame, Mr John Smith the coin-cutter,* with several others who are "spoken of more than once in print" Then he recommends to your perusal, and sends you a copy of, a printed paper given *gratis* about the streets, which is the memorial of monsieur Tugghe, abovementioned, "Deputy of the magistrates of Dunkirk," to desire her majesty not to demolish the said town. He tells you how insolent a thing it is, that such a paper should be publicly distributed, and he tells you true; but these insolences are very frequent among the Whigs. One of their present topics for clamour is Dunkirk: here is a memorial said to be presented to the queen by an obscure Frenchman; one of your party gets a copy, and immediately prints it by contribution, and delivers it *gratis* to the people; which answers several ends.

* Abel Roper was publisher of the Post Boy. The others were advertising quacks

First, It is meant to lay an odium on the ministry. Secondly, If the town be soon demolished, Mr Steele and his faction have the merit; their arguments and threatenings have frightened my lord treasurer. Thirdly, If the demolishing should be farther deferred, the nation will be fully convinced of his lordship's intention to bring over the pretender.

Let us turn over fourteen pages, which contain the memorial itself, and which is indeed as idle a one as ever I read; we come now to Mr Steele's letter, under the name of English Tory, to Mr Ironside. In the preface to this letter, p. 15, he has these words; "It is certain there is not much danger in delaying the demolition of Dunkirk during the life of his present most christian majesty, who is renowned for the most inviolable regard to treaties; but that pious prince is aged, and in case of his decease," &c. This preface is in the words of Mr Ironside, a professed Whig, and perhaps you in the country will wonder to hear a zealot of your own party, celebrating the French king for his piety and his religious performance of treaties. For this, I can assure you, is not spoken in jest, or to be understood by contrary. There is a wonderful resemblance between that prince and the party of Whigs among us. Is he for arbitrary government? So are they. Has he persecuted protestants? So have the Whigs. Did he attempt to restore king James and his pretended son? They did the same. Would he have Dunkirk surrendered to him? This is what they desire. Does he call himself the Most Christian? The Whigs assume the same title, though their leaders deny christianity. Does he break his promises? Did they ever keep theirs?

From the 16th to the 38th page, Mr Steele's pamphlet is taken up with a copy of his letter to

Mr Ironside; the remarks of the Examiner and another author upon that letter; the hydrography of some French and English ports, and his answer to Mr Tugghe's memorial. The bent of his discourse is, in appearance, to show of what prodigious consequence to the welfare of England the surrender of Dunkirk was. But here, Mr Bailiff, you must be careful; for all this is said in railery, for you may easily remember, that when the town was first yielded to the queen, the Whigs declare it was of no consequence at all, that the French could easily repair it after the demolition, or fortify another a few miles off, which would be of more advantage to them. So that what Mr Steele tells you, of the prodigious benefit that will accrue to England by destroying this port, is only suited to present junctures and circumstances. For, if Dunkirk should now be represented as insignificant as when it was first put into her majesty's hands, it would signify nothing whether it were demolished or not, and consequently one principal topic of clamour would fall to the ground.

In Mr Steele's answer to monsieur Tugghe's arguments against the demolishing of Dunkirk, I have not observed any thing that so much deserves your peculiar notice, as the great eloquence of your new member, and his wonderful faculty of varying his style, which he calls "proceeding like a man of great gravity and business," p 31. He has ten arguments of Tugghe's to answer; and because he will not go in the old beaten road, like a parson of a parish, first, secondly, thirdly, &c. his manner is this:

In answer to the sieur's first
As to the sieur's second.

As to his third.
As to the sieur's fourth.
As to Mr Deputy's fifth
As to the sieur's sixth.
As to this agent's seventh.
As to the sieur's eighth.
As to his ninth.
As to the memorialist's tenth.

You see every second expression is more or less diversified, to avoid the repetition of, "As to the sieur's," &c and there is the tenth into the bargain I could heartily wish Monsieur Tugghe had been able to find ten arguments more, and thereby given Mr Steele an opportunity of showing the utmost variations our language would bear, in so momentous a trial.

Mr Steele tells you, "That having now done with his foreign enemy, monsieur Tugghe, he must face about to his domestic foes, who accuse him of ingratitude, and insulting his prince, while he is eating her bread."

To do him justice, he acquits himself pretty tolerably of this last charge: for he assures you, he gave up his stamped paper office, and pension as gentleman usher, before he wrote that letter to himself in the Guardian; so that he had already received his salary, and spent his money, and consequently the bread was eaten at least a week before he would offer to insult his prince: so that the folly of the Examiner's objecting ingratitude to him upon this article, is manifest to all the world.*

* Steele's exculpation deserved more candid interpretation.
"The examiner accuses me of ingratitude, as being actually under

But he tells you, he has quitted those employments, to render him more useful to his queen and country, in the station you have honoured him with. That, no doubt, was the principal motive; however, I shall venture to add some others. First, the Guardian apprehended it impossible, that the ministry would let him keep his place much longer, after the part he had acted for above two years past. Secondly, Mr Honside said publicly, that he was ashamed to be obliged any longer to a person (meaning the lord treasurer) whom he had used so ill. for, it seems, a man ought not to use his benefactors ill, above two years and a half. Thirdly, The sicut Steele appeals for protection to you, Mr Bailiff, from others of your denomination, who would have carried him somewhere else, if you had not relieved him, by your *habeas corpus* to St Stephen's chapel. Fourthly, Mr English Toiy found, by calculating the life of a ministry, that it has lasted above three years, and is near expiring; he resolved, therefore, to "strip off the very garments spotted with the flesh," and be wholly regenerate against the return of his old masters.

In order to serve all these ends, your borough has honoured him (as he expresses it) with choosing him to represent you in parliament; and, it must be owned, he has equally honoured you.

salary, when I writ the letter to the Guardian, but he is mistaken in that particular, for I had resigned, not only my office in the Stamp-Duties, but also my pension as servant to his Royal Highness, which her majesty hath been graciously pleased to continue to the family of that excellent prince. I divested myself of all that I was so happy as to enjoy by her majesty's goodness and favour, before I would presume to write any thing which was so apparently an advertisement to those employed in her service."

Never was borough more happy in suitable representatives, than you are in Mr Steele and his colleague ; * nor were ever representatives more happy in a suitable borough

When Mr Steele talked of " laying before her majesty's ministry, that the nation has a strict eye upon their behaviour with relation to Dunkirk," p. 39 ; did not you, Mr Bailiff, and your brethren of the borough, presently imagine he had drawn up a sort of counter-memorial to that of Monsieur Tugghe, and presented it in form to my lord treasurer, or a secretary of state ? I am confident you did ; but this comes by not understanding the town. You are to know, then, that Mr Steele publishes every day a penny paper to be read in coffee-houses, and get him a little money. This, by a figure of speech, he calls, " laying things before the ministry," who seem at present a little too busy to regard such memorials, and, I dare say, never saw his paper, unless he sent it by the penny-post.

Well, but he tells you, " he cannot offer against the Examiner and his other adversary, reason and argument, without appearing void of both." *Ibid.* What a singular situation of the mind is this ! How glad should I be to hear a man " offer reasons and argument, and yet at the same time appear void of both ! " But this whole paragraph is of a peculiar strain ; the consequences so just and natural, and such a propriety in thinking, as few authors ever arrive at. " Since it has been the fashion to run down men of much greater consequence than I am ; I will not bear the accusation " *Ibid.* This, I suppose, is, " to offer reasons

* Thomas Boderick, Esq.

and arguments, and yet appear void of both." And, in the next lines, "These writers shall treat me as they think fit, as I am their brother-scribbler; but I shall not be so unconcerned when they attack me as an honest man," p. 40. And how does he defend himself? "I shall therefore inform them, that it is not in the power of a private man to hurt the prerogative," &c. Well; I shall treat him only as a brother-scribbler, and I guess he will hardly be attacked as an honest man: but if his meaning be, that his honesty ought not to be attacked, because he "has no power to hurt the honour and prerogative of the crown without being punished;" he will make an admirable reasoner in the House of Commons.

But all this wise argumentation was introduced, only to close the paragraph, by hauling in a fact, which he relates to you and your borough, in order to quiet the minds of the people, and express his duty and gratitude to the queen. The fact is this, "that her majesty's honour is in danger of being lost, by her ministers tolerating villains without conscience to abuse the greatest instruments of honour and glory to our country, the most wise and faithful managers, and the most pious, disinterested, generous, and self-denying patriots;" and the instances he produces, are, the duke of Marlborough, the late earl of Godolphin, and about two-thirds of the bishops.

Mr Bailiff, I cannot debate this matter at length, without putting you, and the rest of my countrymen, who will be at the expense, to sixpence charge extraordinary. The duke and earl were both removed from their employments; and I hope you have too great a respect for the queen, to think it was done for nothing. The former was at the head of many great actions; and he has re-

ceived plentiful oblations of praise and profit: yet, having read all that ever was objected against him by the Examiner, I will undertake to prove every syllable of it true, particularly that famous attempt to be general for life. The earl of Godolphin is dead, and his faults may sojourn with him in the grave, till some historian shall think fit to revive part of them, for instruction and warning to posterity. But it grieved me to the soul, to see so many good epithets bestowed by Mr Steele upon the bishops: nothing has done more hurt to that sacred order for some years past, than to hear some prelates extolled by Whigs, dissenters, republicans, socinians, and, in short, by all who are enemies to episcopacy. God, in his mercy, for ever keep our prelates from deserving the praises of such panegyrists!

Mr Steele is discontented that the ministry have not "called the Examiner to account as well as the Flying-Post." I will inform you, Mr Bailiff, how that matter stands. The author of the Flying-Post has, thrice a-week, for above two years together, published the most impudent reflections upon all the present ministry, upon all their proceedings, and upon the whole body of Tories. The Examiner, on the other side, writing in defence of those whom her majesty employs in her greatest affairs, and of the cause they are engaged in, has always borne hard upon the Whigs, and now and then upon some of their leaders. Now, sir, we reckon here, that, supposing the persons on both sides to be of equal intrinsic worth, it is more impudent, immoral, and criminal, to reflect on a majority in power, than a minority out of power. Put the case, that an odd rascally Tory in your borough should presume to abuse your worship, who, in the language of Mr

Steele, are first minister, and the majority of your brethren, for sending two such Whig representatives up to parliament; and, on the other side, that an honest Whig should stand in your defence, and fall foul on the Tories; would you equally resent the proceedings of both, and let your friend and enemy sit in the stocks together? Hearken to another case, Mr Bailiff, suppose your worship, during your annual administration, should happen to be kicked and cuffed by a parcel of Tories; would not the circumstance of your being a magistrate make the crime the greater, than if the like insults were committed on an ordinary Tory shopkeeper, by a company of honest Whigs? What bailiff would venture to arrest Mr Steele, now he has the honour to be your representative? and what bailiff ever scrupled it before?

You must know, Sir, that we have several ways here of abusing one another, without incurring the danger of the law. First, we are careful never to print a man's name out at length; but, as I do, that of Mr St—le: so that, although every body alive knows whom I mean, the plaintiff can have no redress in any court of justice. Secondly, by putting cases, thirdly, by insinuations; fourthly, by celebrating the actions of others, who acted directly contrary to the persons we would reflect on; fifthly, by nicknames, either commonly known or stamped for the purpose, which every body can tell how to apply. Without going on farther, it will be enough to inform you, that by

* This was a severe, though ungenerous, subject of raillery, to which poor Steele lay but too open.

some of the ways I have already mentioned, Mr Steele gives you to understand, that the queen's honour is blasted by the actions of her present ministers, that "her prerogative is disgraced by creating a dozen peers, who, by their votes, turned a point upon which your all depended; that these ministers made the queen lay down her conquering arms, and deliver herself up to be vanquished, that they made her majesty betray her allies, by ordering her army to face about, and leave them in the moment of distress; that the present ministers are men of poor and narrow conceptions, self-interested, and without benevolence to mankind, and were brought into her majesty's favour for the sins of the nation: and only think what they may do, not what they ought to do," p. 43. This is the character given by Mr Steele of those persons whom her majesty has thought fit to place in the highest stations of the kingdom, and to trust with the management of her most weighty affairs: and this is the gentleman who cries out, "Where is honour? where is government? where is prerogative?" p. 40; because the Examiner has sometimes dealt freely with those whom the queen has thought fit to discard, and the parliament to censure.

But Mr Steele thinks it highly dangerous to the prince, that any man should be hindered from "offering his thoughts upon public affairs;" and resolves to do it, "though with the loss of her majesty's favour," p. 45. If a clergyman offers to preach obedience to the higher powers, and proves it by Scripture; Mr Steele and his fraternity immediately cry out, "What have parsons to do with politics?" I ask, What shadow of pretence has he to offer his crude thoughts in

matters of state ? to print and publish them ? “to lay them before the queen and ministry ?” and to reprove both for maladministration ? How did he acquire these abilities of directing in the councils of princes ? Was it from **publishing** * Tatlers and Spectators, and writing now and then a Guardian ? was it from his being a soldier, alchemist, † gazetteer, commissioner of stamped papers, or gentleman usher ? No ; but he insists it is every man’s right to find fault with the Administration in print, whenever they please ; and therefore you, Mr Bailiff, and as many of your brethren in the borough as can write and read, may publish pamphlets, and “lay them before the queen and ministry,” to show your utter dislike of all their proceedings ; and for this reason, because you “can certainly see and apprehend, with your own eyes and understanding, those dangers which the ministers do not.”

One thing I am extremely concerned about, that Mr Steele resolves, as he tells you, p. 46, when he comes into the House, “to follow no leaders, but vote according to the dictates of his conscience.” He must, at that rate, be a very useless member to his party, unless his conscience be already cut out and shaped for their service, which I am ready to believe it is, if I may have leave to judge from the whole tenor of his life. I would only have his friends be cautious, not to reward him too liberally ; for, as it was said of

* Steele had the affectation of using the black letter, to mark the most emphatic parts of his title pages, as in that of *the Crisis*.

† Sir Richard Steele attempted to enrich himself by the discovery of the philosopher’s stone, and by several projects scarcely less chimerical. His laboratory is said to have been at Poplar, near London.

Cianmer, "Do the archbishop an ill turn, and he is your friend for ever." So I do affirm of your member, "Do Mr Steele a good turn, and he is your enemy for ever."

I had like to let slip a very trivial matter which I should be sorry to have done. In reading this pamphlet, I observed several mistakes, but knew not whether to impute them to the author or printer; till, turning to the end, I found there was only one erratum, thus set down, "Pag. 45, line 28, for *admonition* read *advertisement*." This (to imitate Mr Steele's propriety of speech) is a very old practice among new writers, to make a wilful mistake, and then put it down as an erratum. The word is brought in upon this occasion, to convince all the world that he was not guilty of ingratitude, by reflecting on the queen when he was actually under salary, as the Examiner affirms; he assures you, he "had resigned and divested himself of all, before he would presume to write any thing which was so apparently an admonition to those employed in her majesty's service." In case the Examiner should find fault with this word, he might appeal to the erratum; and having formerly been gazetteer, he conceived he might very safely venture to advertise.

You are to understand, Mr Bailiff, that in the great rebellion against king Charles I, there was a distinction found out between the personal and political capacity of the prince; by the help of which, those rebels professed to fight for the king, while the great guns were discharging against Charles Stuart. After the same manner, Mr Steele distinguishes between the personal and political prerogative. He does not care to trust this jewel "to the will, and pleasure, and passion, of her majesty," p. 48. If I am not mistaken,

the crown jewels cannot be alienated by the prince; but I always thought the prince could wear them during his reign, else they had as good be in the hands of the subject; so, I conceive, her majesty may and ought to wear the prerogative; that it is hers during life, and she ought to be so much the more careful, neither to soil nor diminish it, for that very reason, because it is by law unalienable. But what must we do with this prerogative, according to the notion of Mr Steele? It must not be trusted with the queen, because Providence has given her will, pleasure, and passion. Her ministers must not act by the authority of it, for then Mr Steele will cry out, "What? Are majesty and ministry consolidated? and must there be no distinction between the one and the other?" p 46. He tells you, p. 48, "The prerogative attends the crown;" and therefore, I suppose, must lie in the Tower, to be shown for twelvepence, but never produced, except at a coronation, or passing an act. "Well, but," says he, "a whole ministry may be impeached and condemned by the House of Commons, without the prince's suffering by it." And what follows? Why, therefore, a single burgess of Stockbridge, before he gets into the House, may at any time revile a whole ministry in print, before he knows whether they are guilty of any one neglect of duty, or breach of trust!

I am willing to join issue with Mr Steele in one particular, which perhaps may give you some diversion. He is taxed, by the Examiner and others, for an insolent expression, that the British nation expects the immediate demolition of Dunkirk. He says, the word EXPECT,* was meant to

* Steele says in the Guardian, No. 160, "I must confess that I write with fear and trembling, ever since that ingenious person,

the ministry, and not to the queen; "but that, however, for argument sake, he will suppose those words were addressed immediately to the queen." Let me then likewise, for argument sake, suppose a very ridiculous thing, that Mr Steele were admitted to her majesty's sacred person, to tell his own story, with his letter to you, Mr Bailiff, in his hand, to have recourse to upon occasion. I think his speech must be in these terms.

"MADAM,

"I Richard Steele, publisher of the Tatler and Spectator, late gazetteer, commissioner of stamped papers, and pensioner to your majesty, now burgess elect of Stockbridge, do see and apprehend, with my own eyes and understanding, the imminent danger that attends the delay of the demolition of Dunkirk, which I believe your ministers, whose greater concern it is, do not: for, madam, the thing is not done; my lord-treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, my fellow subjects, under whose immediate direction it is, are careless, and overlook it, or something worse, I mean, they design to sell it to France, or make use of it to bring in the Pretender. This is clear, from their suffering Mr Tugghe's memorial to be published without punishing the printer. Your majesty has told us, that the equivalent for Dunkirk is already in the French King's hands, therefore all obstacles are removed on the part of France, and I, though a mean fellow, give your majesty to understand, in the best method I can take, and from the sincerity of my grateful heart, that the British nation expects the immediate demolition

the Examiner, in his little pamphlet, which was to make way for one of his following papers, found out treason in the word *expect*."

of Dunkirk, as you hope to preserve your person, crown, and dignity, and the safety and welfare of the people committed to your charge."

I have contracted such a habit of treating princes familiarly, by reading the pamphlets of Mr Steele and his fellows, that I am tempted to suppose her majesty's answer to this speech might be as follows :

" Mr Richard Steele, late gazetteer, &c.

" I do not conceive that any of your titles empower you to be my director, or to report to me the expectations of my people. I know their expectations better than you, they love me, and will trust me. My ministers were of my own free choice; I have found them wise and faithful; and whoever calls them fools or knaves, designs indirectly an affront to myself. I am under no obligations to demolish Dunkirk, but to the most christian king; if you come here as an orator from that prince to demand it in his name, where are your powers? If not, let it suffice you to know, that I have my reasons for deferring it, and that the clamours of a faction, shall not be a rule, by which I or my servants are to proceed."

Mr Steele tells you, "his adversaries are so unjust, they will not take the least notice of what led him into the necessity of writing his letter to the Guardian." And how is it possible, any mortal should know all his necessities? Who can guess, whether this necessity were imposed on him by his superiors, or by the itch of party, or by the mere want of other matter to furnish out a Guardian?

But Mr Steele "has had a liberal education, and knows the world as well as the ministry does, and will therefore speak on, whether he offends them or no and though their clothes be ever so new;

when he thinks his queen and country is “(or, as a grammarian would express it, are) ill-treated,” p. 50.

It would be good to hear Mr Steele explain himself upon this phrase of “knowing the world;” because it is a science which maintains abundance of pretenders. Every idle young rake, who understands how to pick up a wench, or bilk a hackney coachman, or can call the players by their names, and is acquainted with five or six faces in the chocolate-house, will needs pass for a man that “knows the world.” In the like manner Mr Steele, who, from some few sprinklings of rudimental literature, proceeded a gentleman of the horse guards, thence by several degrees to be an ensign and an alchemist, where he was wholly conversant with the lower part of mankind, thinks he “knows the world” as well as the prime minister; and, upon the strength of that knowledge, will needs direct her majesty in the weightiest matters of government.

And now, Mr Bailiff, give me leave to inform you, that this long letter of Mr Steele, filled with quotations and a clutter about Dunkirk, was wholly written for the sake of the six last pages, taken up in vindicating himself directly, and vilifying the queen and ministry by innuendoes. He apprehends, that “some representations have been given of him in your town, as, that a man of so small a fortune as he, must have secret views or supports, which could move him to leave his employments, &c.” p. 56. He answers by owning “he has indeed very particular views; for he is animated in his conduct by justice and truth, and benevolence to mankind,” p. 57. He has given up his employments, because “he values no advantages above the conveniences of life, but as

they tend to the service of the public." It seems, he could not "serve the public" as a pensioner, or commissioner of stamped paper; and therefore gave them up, to sit in parliament, "out of charity to his country, and to contend for liberty," p. 58. He has transcribed the commonplaces of some canting moralist *de contemptu mundi, et fuga seculi*, and would put them upon you as rules derived from his own practice.

Here is a most miraculous and sudden reformation, which I believe can hardly be matched in history or legend. And Mr Steele, not unaware how slow the world was of belief, has thought fit to anticipate all objection, he foresees that "prostituted pens will entertain a pretender to such reformations with a recital of his own faults and infirmities; but he is prepared for such usage, and gives himself up to all nameless authors, to be treated as they please." P 59

It is certain, Mr Bailiff, that no man breathing can pretend to have arrived at such a sublime pitch of virtue, as Mr Steele, without some tendency in the world to suspend at least their belief of the fact, till time and observation shall determine. But, I hope, few writers will be so prostitute as to trouble themselves with "the faults and infirmities" of Mr Steele's past life, with what he somewhere else calls "the sins of his youth,"* and in one of his late papers, confesses to have been numerous enough. A shifting scambling scene of youth, attended with poverty and ill company, may put a man of no ill inclinations upon many extravagancies, which, as soon as they are left off, are easily pardoned and forgotten. Besides, I think, popish writers tell

* See the Guardian, No. 53.

us, that the greatest sinners make the greatest saints; but so very quick a sanctification, and carried to so prodigious a height, will be apt to rouse the suspicion of infidels, especially when they consider that this pretence of his to so romantic a virtue, is only advanced by way of solution to that difficult problem, "Why he has given up his employments?" And according to the new philosophy, they will endeavour to solve it by some easier and shorter way. For example, the question is put, Why Mr Steele gives up his employment and pension at this juncture? I must here repeat, with some enlargement, what I said before on this head. These unbelieving gentlemen will answer,

First, That a new commission was every day expected for the stamped paper, and he knew his name would be left out; and therefore his resignation would be an appearance of virtue cheaply bought.

Secondly, He dreaded the violence of creditors, against which his employments were no manner of security.

Thirdly, Being a person of great sagacity, he has some foresight of a change, from the usual age of a ministry, which is now almost expired; from the little misunderstandings that have been reported sometimes to happen among the men in power; from the bill of commerce being rejected, and from some horrible expectations, where-with his party have been deceiving themselves and their friends abroad for about two years past.*

Fourthly, He hopes to come into all the perquisites of his predecessor Ridpath,† and be the

* Alluding to the state of the queen's health

† Who is thus commemorated for his zeal on the self same sub-

principal writer of his faction, where every thing is printed by subscription, which will amply make up the loss of his place.

But it may be still demanded, why he affects those exalted strains of piety and resignation? To this I answer, with great probability, that he has resumed his old pursuits after the philosopher's stone, toward which it is held by all adepts for a most essential ingredient, that a man must seek it merely for the glory of God, and without the least desire of being rich.

Mr Steele is angry, p. 60, that some of our friends have been reflected on in a pamphlet, because they left us in a point of the greatest consequence; and, upon that account, he runs into their panegyric, against his conscience, and the interest of his cause, without considering that those gentlemen have reverted to us again. The case is thus. he never would have praised them if they had remained firm, nor should we have railed at them. The one is full as honest and as natural as the other. However Mr Steele hopes, (I beg you, Mr Bailiff, to observe the consequence) that notwithstanding this pamphlet's reflecting on some Tories who opposed the treaty of commerce, "the ministry will see Dunkirk effectually demolished."

ject, by his colleague, Mr John Dunton "Then, what a dazzling, weighty, and exceeding crown of glory shall that truly loyal and ingenious gentleman, Mr George Ridpath, wear in Heaven, whose great piety, steadiness of principles, and undaunted courage in suffering for his firm loyalty, but more especially for his telling your lordship every week that Dunkirk is not yet demolished, nor the pretender removed, has set him above all fear of death and the pillory."—*Neck or Nothing*, p. 6. George Ridpath conducted the Flying Post, a Whig newspaper, in which occupation his zeal more than once procured him a severe cudgeling from some of the opposite party.

Mr Steele says something in commendation of the queen; but stops short, and tells you, (if I take his meaning right) "that he shall leave what he has to say on this topic, till he and her majesty are both dead," p. 61. Thus, he defers his praises, as he does his debts, after the manner of the Druids, to be paid in another world. If I have ill interpreted him, it is his own fault, for studying cadence instead of propriety, and filling up niches with words before he has adjusted his conceptions to them. One part of the queen's character is this, "that all the hours of her life are divided between the exercises of devotion, and taking minutes of the sublime affairs of her government." Now, if the business of Dunkirk be one of the "sublime affairs of her majesty's government," I think we ought to be at ease; or else she "takes her minutes" to little purpose. No, says Mr Steele, the queen is a lady; and unless a prince will now and then get drunk with his ministers, "he cannot learn their interests or humours," p. 61; but, this being by no means proper for a lady, she can know nothing but what they think fit to tell her when they are sober.* And therefore "all the fellow subjects" of these ministers must watch their motions, and "be very solicitous for what passes beyond the ordinary rules of government."---Ibid. For while we are foolishly "relying upon her majesty's virtues," these ministers are "taking the advantage of increasing the power of France."

There is a very good maxim, I think it is neither

* Queen Anne was, however, rather more fortunate in this matter than might have been expected. For, though she could not drink with her ministers, yet, if her own word could be taken, Oxford used to attend her councils in a state of intoxication.

Whig nor Tory, "that the prince can do no wrong:" which, I doubt, is often applied to very ill purposes. A monarch of Britain is pleased to create a dozen peers, and to make a peace; both these actions are (for instance) within the undisputed prerogative of the crown, and are to be reputed, and submitted to, as the actions of the prince, but, as a king of England is supposed to be guided, in matters of such importance, by the advice of those he employs in his councils; whenever a parliament thinks fit to complain of such proceedings, as a public grievance, then this maxim takes place, that the prince can do no wrong, and the advisers are called to account. But shall this empower such an individual as Mr Steele, in his tatling or pamphleteering capacity, to fix "the ordinary rules of government," or to affirm that "her ministers, upon the security of her majesty's goodness, are labouring for the grandeur of France?" What ordinary rule of government is transgressed by the queen's delaying the demolition of Dunkirk? or what addition is thereby made to the grandeur of France? Every tailor in your corporation is as much a fellow subject as Mr Steele; and do you think, in your conscience, that every tailor of Stockbridge is fit to direct her majesty and her ministers in "the sublime affairs of her government?"

But he persists in it, "that it is no manner of diminution of the wisdom of a prince, that he is obliged to act by the information of others." The sense is admirable, and the interpretation is this, that what a man is forced to, "is no diminution of his wisdom." But, if he would conclude from this sage maxim, that, because a prince "acts by the information of others," therefore those actions may lawfully be traduced in print by every fellow

subject; I hope there is no man in England so much a Whig as to be of his opinion.

Mr Steele concludes his letter to you with a story about king William and his French dog-keeper, "who gave that prince a gun loaden only with powder, and then pretended to wonder how his majesty could miss his aim: which was no argument against the king's reputation for shooting very finely." This he would have you apply, by allowing her majesty to be a wise prince, but deceived by wicked counsellors, who are in the interest of France. Her majesty's aim was peace, which I think she has not missed; and God be thanked, she has got it, without any more expense, either of shot or powder. Her dog-keepers, for some years past, had directed her gun against her friends, and at last loaded it so deep, that it was in danger to burst in her hands.

You may please to observe, that Mr Steele calls this dog-keeper a minister; which, with humble submission, is a gross impropriety of speech. The word is derived from the Latin, where it properly signifies a servant; but in English is never made use of otherwise than to denominate those who are employed in the service of church or state; so that the appellation, as he directs it, is no less absurd than it would be for you, Mr Bailiff, to send your apprentice for a pot of ale, and give him the title of your envoy; to call a petty constable a magistrate, or the common hangman a minister of justice. I confess, when I was choqued* at this word in reading the paragraph, a gentleman offered his conjecture, that it might possibly be intended for a reflection

* This is the original mode of spelling *shock'd*.

or jest: but, if there be any thing farther in it than a want of understanding our language, I take it to be only a refinement upon the old levelling principle of the Whigs. Thus, in their opinion, a dog-keeper is as much a minister as any secretary of state: and thus Mr Steele, and my lord-treasurer, are both fellow subjects. I confess, I have known some ministers, whose birth, or qualities, or both, were such, that nothing but the capriciousness of fortune, and the iniquity of the times, could ever have raised them above the station of dog-keepers, and to whose administration I should be loth to entrust a dog I had any value for: because, by the rule of proportion, they, who treated their prince like a slave, would have used their fellow subjects like dogs; and yet how they would treat a dog, I can find no similitude to express; yet, I well remember, they maintained a large number, whom they taught to fawn upon themselves, and bark at their mistress. However, while they were in service, I wish they had only kept her majesty's dogs, and not been trusted with her guns. And thus much by way of comment upon this worthy story of king William and his dog-keeper.

I have now, Mr Bailiff, explained to you all the difficult parts in Mr Steele's letter. As for the importance of Dunkirk, and when it shall be demolished, or whether it shall be demolished or not, neither he, nor you, nor I, have any thing to do in the matter. Let us all say what we please, her majesty will think herself the best judge, and her ministers the best advisers: neither has Mr Steele pretended to prove, that any law, ecclesiastical or civil, statute or common, is broken by keeping Dunkirk undemolished, so long as the queen shall think it best for the ser-

vice of herself and her kingdoms ; and it is not altogether impossible, that there may be some few reasons of state, which have not been yet communicated to Mr Steele. I am, with respect to the borough and yourself,

SIR,

Your most humble and
most obedient servant, &c.

THE
PUBLIC SPIRIT
OF THE
WHIGS,
SET FORTH IN THEIR GENEROUS ENCOURAGEMENT
OF THE AUTHOR OF THE CRISIS.
WITH
SOME OBSERVATIONS
ON THE SEASONABLENESS, CANDOUR, ERUDITION, AND STYLE
OF THAT TREATISE. 1713-14.

THE PUBLIC SPIRIT OF THE WHIGS.

THE last parliament of Queen Anne was opened in December 1713, a period of the most critical importance to Britain. The queen's health was so precarious, that her death was weekly anticipated. The question of succession divided the nation, and even the administration. There were Tories who had submitted to Mary and to Anne, as being immediate descendants of James II., but whose notions of hereditary right were startled at the transference of the sceptre to a more distant branch. These augmented the number of the steady Jacobites, which faction now began to shew themselves openly, and even to aver that the queen countenanced the right of her brother, the Chevalier De St George. Bolingbroke, whose breach with Oxford was now irreparable, was considered as the head of this party. Oxford was supported chiefly by such High-churchmen as were friends to the Hanover succession. But the Whigs looked with jealousy and suspicion even upon the latter body, and left nothing undone to confound both classes of Tories in the general charge of a plot to bring in the pretender.

In this emergency, the well-tried and ready pen of Mr Steele produced a pamphlet called the *Crisis*. The design is said to have been suggested to him by Mr Moore of the Inner Temple, and the piece itself revised by Addison, Lechmere, and Hoadly. Yet it is an awkward and ill-written treatise. The acts of settlement, which are introduced into the body of the pamphlet at full length, harmonize ill with Steele's own oratory, and the rhetoric itself is both insipid and tawdry. Yet the publication of the *Crisis*, and the praises heaped upon the pamphlet by the party which it favoured, excited a strong sensation in the public, and it was thought of such importance, that Swift was employed by the ministers in the task of confutation.

The Public Spirit of the Whigs came forth accordingly, in answer to the Crisis. But Swift, in eager pursuit of his prey, had very nearly followed it over a precipice. The Duke of Argyle, with the Scottish nobles, had of late been much discontented with the ministry. They had made formal remonstrances on the extension of the malt tax to Scotland ; and Argyle, and his brother Ilay, united with Mar and Seafield, supported a bill brought into parliament for dissolution of the Union, on the ground of the following grievances : First, Scotland's being deprived of a privy council, second, the English laws of treason being extended to that country ; third, the Scottish peers being judged incapable of being made peers of Great Britain ; fourth, the extension of the malt tax. It was, on this occasion, singular to observe the Whig lords, who had been active in making the Union, now support a bill for the dissolution ; and the Tories, who detested the measure, standing up in its defence. But both soon began to recover their natural tone. In the Crisis, the Union is pronounced to be sacred and inviolable. No blame is, however, thrown on the Scottish peers, who had moved for the dissolution. On the contrary, it is intimated, that it became the English, in generosity, to be more particularly careful in preserving the Union, since the Scotch had sacrificed their national independence, and left themselves in a state of comparative impotence of redressing their own wrongs. Swift, who detested the Scottish nation, and entered into the resentment of ministers against the Duke of Argyle, a deserter from their standard, enters upon this argument with the most unqualified severity, and treats the Union as a step in itself prejudicial to England, and only rendered necessary by the Scottish act of settlement. The derogatory terms in which the subject was treated, gave high offence to the Scottish peers, who went to court in a body, with the Duke of Argyle at their head, to demand vengeance for the insult. The Earl of Wharton stated a complaint against the treatise in the House of Lords. John Morphew, the publisher, and John Barber, the printer, were ordered into custody of the black rod, and examined at the bar of the House ; and though they were enlarged upon petition, the House voted the " Public Spirit of the Whigs " to be " a false, malicious, and factious libel, highly dishonourable to her Majesty's subjects of Scotland ; " and besought her Majesty to issue a reward for discovering the author. The Queen, who never loved Swift, readily issued a proclamation, offering a reward of 300*l.* to any person who should make known the author of the obnoxious pamphlet. But, although the credit of the ministers was at this time supposed to be shaken, they retained influence enough to screen Swift from actual prosecution. Morphew, indeed, was summoned to

the Court of King's Bench by Lord Chief-Justice Parker, and threatened with punishment. But the temporary recovery of the queen, and the additional strength acquired by the administration in the House of Lords, put the matter finally to rest.

It was not the least remarkable circumstance, that, while the violence of party was levelled against Swift in the House of Peers, no less injustice was done to his adversary, Steele, by the Commons, who expelled him from their House for writing the *Crisis*, that very pamphlet which called forth Swift's answer.

THE
PUBLIC SPIRIT
OF THE
WHIGS.

I CANNOT, without some envy, and a just resentment against the opposite conduct of others, reflect upon that generosity and tenderness, where-with the heads, and principal members of a struggling faction, treat those who will undertake to hold a pen in their defence. And the behaviour of these patrons is yet the more laudable, because the benefits they confer are almost gratis. If any of their labourers can scratch out a pamphlet, they desire no more; there is no question offered about the wit, the style, the argument. Let a pamphlet come out upon demand, in a proper juncture, you shall be well and certainly paid; you shall be paid beforehand; every one of the party who is able to read, and can spare a shilling, shall be a subscriber; several thousands of each production shall be sent among their friends through the kingdom: the work shall be reported admirable, sublime, unanswerable; shall serve to raise the sinking clamours, and confirm

the scandal of introducing Popery and the Pretender, upon the queen and her ministers.

Among the present writers on that side, I can recollect but three of any great distinction; which are, the Flying Post, Mr Dunton, and the author of the *Crisis*. * The first of these seems to have been much sunk in reputation, since the sudden retreat of the only true, genuine, original author, Mr Ridpath, who is celebrated by the Dutch Gazetteer, as "one of the best pens in England." Mr Dunton † has been longer, and more conversant in books than any of the three, as well as more voluminous in his productions; however, having employed his studies in so great a variety of other subjects, he has, I think, but lately turned his genius to politics. His famous tract, entitled, "Neck or Nothing," ‡ must be allowed to

* Mr Steele was expelled the House of Commons for this pamphlet, at the very same time that the House of Lords was moved against the dean for the Reply. The plan of the *Crisis* was laid and chiefly executed by Mr Moore, of the Inner Temple; and many hints of it came from Archbishop Tension, whose steward obtained very large subscriptions for it.—*Memoirs of Steele*, 1731, p. 14.

† John Dunton, a broken bookseller, who had commenced author.

‡ "Neck or Nothing. In a Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Being a Supplement to the History of the Short Parliament. Also, the new scheme mentioned in the foresaid history, which the English and Scotch Jacobites have concerted for bringing in the Pretender, Popery, and Slavery, with the true character or secret history of the present Ministers. Written by his Grace John Duke of London, 1713." Although this extraordinary treatise is written in the character of no less a person than the Duke of Marlborough, yet this disguise, like the lion's skin in the fable, proved infinitely too scanty to conceal the ass who had assumed it. The supposed duke quotes, for his authority, all the Whig inhabitants of Grub-street, with praise appropriate to their labours, as that "truly loyal and ingenious gentleman, Mr George Ridpath;—poor dear Mr Hurt,"—on whom

be the shrewdest piece, and written with the most spirit, of any which has appeared from that side since the change of the ministry: it is indeed a most cutting satire upon the lord-treasurer, and Lord Bolingbroke; and I wonder none of our friends ever undertook to answer it. I confess I was at first of the same opinion with several good judges, who, from the style and manner, suppose it to have issued from the sharp pen of the Earl of Nottingham; and I am still apt to think it might receive his lordship's last hand. The third, and principal of this triumvirate, is the author of the *Crisis*, who, although he must yield to the *Flying Post* in knowledge of the world, and skill in politics, and to Mr Dunton, in keenness of satire and variety of reading, has yet other qualities enough to denominate him a writer of a superior class to either; provided he would a little regard the propriety and disposition of his words, consult the grammatical part, and get some information in the subject he intends to handle.

Omitting the generous countenance and encouragement that have been shown to the persons and productions of the two former authors, I shall here only consider the great favour conferred upon the last. It has been advertised for several months in the *Englishman*,* and other

the pillory, to which he was sentenced¹, conferred immortal honour; but, above all, and in every page, his grace alludes to the various learned works of that "Athenian projector, or indefatigable novelist, Mr John Dunton." Of these, indeed, the duke is so extremely enamoured, that he often leaves the thread of his invective against the ministry, to explain Mr Dunton's projects, and announce the title of his publications, not forgetting the price and place of sale, nor does his grace consider any proposition as sufficiently supported, till he has bucklered it with Mr Dunton's authority.

* A paper written by Steele, in favour of the Whigs.

papers, that a pamphlet, called the Crisis, should be published at a proper time, in order to open the eyes of the nation. It was proposed to be printed by subscription, price a shilling. This was a little out of form, because subscriptions are usually begged only for books of great price, and such as are not likely to have a general sale. Notice was likewise given of what this pamphlet should contain; only an extract from certain acts of parliament relating to the succession, which at least must sink ninepence in the shilling, and leave but threepence for the author's political reflections; so that nothing very wonderful or decisive could be reasonably expected from this performance. But a work was to be done, a hearty writer to be encouraged, and, accordingly, many thousand copies were bespoke. Neither could this be sufficient; for when we expected to have our bundles delivered us, all was stopped; the friends to the cause sprang a new project; and it was advertised, that the Crisis could not appear, till the ladies had shown their zeal against the pretender, as well as the men; against the pretender, in the bloom of his youth, reported to be handsome, and endued with an understanding, exactly of a size to please the sex. I should be glad to have seen a printed list of the fair subscribers prefixed to this pamphlet, by which the chevalier might know, he was so far from pretending to a monarchy here, that he could not so much as pretend to a mistress.

At the destined period, the first news we hear, is of a huge train [of dukes, earls, viscounts, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and others, going to Sam. Buckley's, the publisher of the Crisis, to fetch home their cargoes, in order to transmit them by dozens, scores, and hundreds,

into the several counties, and thereby to prepare the wills and understandings of their friends against the approaching sessions. Ask any of them, whether they have read it, they will answer, no; but they have sent it every where, and it will do a world of good. It is a pamphlet, they hear, against the ministry; talks of slavery, France, and the pretender; they desire no more: it will settle the wavering, confirm the doubtful, instruct the ignorant, inflame the clamorous, although it never be once looked into. I am told, by those who are expert in the trade, that the author and bookseller of this twelvepenny treatise, will be greater gainers than from one edition of any folio that has been published these twenty years. What needy writer would not solicit to work under such masters, who will pay us beforehand, take off as much of our ware as we please, at our own rates, and trouble not themselves to examine, either before or after they have bought it, whether it be staple or not.

But, in order to illustrate the implicit munificence of these noble patrons, I cannot take a more effectual method than by examining the production itself; by which we shall easily find, that it was never intended, farther than from the noise, the bulk, and the title of *Crisis*, to do any service to the factious cause. The entire piece consists of a title-page, a dedication to the clergy, a preface, an extract from certain acts of parliament, and about ten pages of dry reflections on the proceedings of the queen and her servants; which his coadjutors, the Earl of Nottingham, Mr Dunton, and the Flying Post, had long ago set before us in a much clearer light.

In popish countries, when some impostor cries out, A miracle! a miracle! it is not done with a

hope or intention of converting heretics, but confirming the deluded vulgar in their errors: and so the cry goes round, without examining into the cheat. Thus the Whigs among us give about the cry, A pamphlet! a pamphlet! the Crisis! the Crisis! not with a view of convincing their adversaries, but to raise the spirits of their friends, recal their stragglers, and unite their numbers, by sound and impudence, as bees assemble and cling together by the noise of brass.

That no other effect could be imagined or hoped for, by the publication of this timely treatise, will be manifest from some obvious reflections upon the several parts of it, wherein the follies, the falsehoods, or the absurdities, appear so frequent, that they may boldly contend for number with the lines.

When the hawker holds this pamphlet toward you, the first words you perceive are, "The Crisis; or, A Discourse," &c.* The interpreter of Suidas gives four translations of the word Crisis,

* The full title runs thus: "The Crisis: or a Discourse representing, from the most Authentic Records, the just causes of the late Happy Revolution, and the several Settlements of the Crowns of England and Scotland on her Majesty, and on the Demise of her Majesty without issue, upon the most Illustrious Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants, by previous Acts of both Parliaments of the late Kingdoms of England and Scotland, and confirmed by the Parliament of Great Britain. With some seasonable Remarks on the Danger of a Popish Successor.

*In vitis ea tanquam vulnera attingo; sed nisi tucta tractataq.
sanari non possunt.*

LIV.

By Richard Steele, Esq. London: Printed by Sam. Buckley, and sold by Ferd. Burleigh, in Amen-Corner. 1714."

any of which may be as properly applied to this author's letter to the bailiff of Stockbridge.* Next, what he calls a discourse, consists only of two pages, prefixed to twenty-two more, which contain extracts from acts of parliament; for, as to the twelve last pages, they are provided for themselves in the title, under the name of "some seasonable remarks on the danger of a popish successor." Another circumstance worthy our information in the title-page, is, that the crown has been settled by previous acts. I never heard of any act of parliament that was not previous to what it enacted, unless those two, by which the Earl of Strafford and Sir John Fenwick lost their heads, may pass for exceptions. "A Discourse, representing, from the most authentic Records, &c." He has borrowed this expression from some writer who probably understood the words; but this gentleman has altogether misapplied them; and, under favour, he is wholly mistaken; for a heap of extracts from several acts of parliament cannot be called a discourse; neither do I believe he copied them from the most authentic records, which, as I take it, are lodged in the Tower, but out of some common printed copy. I grant there is nothing material in all this, farther than to show the generosity of our adversaries, in encouraging a writer who cannot furnish out so much as a title-page with propriety or common sense.

Next follows the dedication to the clergy of the church of England, wherein the modesty, and the meaning of the first paragraphs, are hardly to be matched. He tells them, he has made "a comment upon the acts of settlement," which he

* See the preceding Tract.

"lays before them, and conjures them to recommend, in their writings and discourses, to their fellow-subjects:" and he does all this "out of a just deference to their great power and influence." This is the right Whig scheme of directing the clergy what to preach. The Archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction extends no farther than over his own province, but the author of the Crisis constitutes himself vicar-general over the whole clergy of the church of England. The bishops, in their letters or speeches to their own clergy, proceed no farther than to exhortation; but this writer "conjures" the whole clergy of the church to "recommend" his "comment upon the laws" of the land, "in their writings and discourses." I would fain know, who made him a "commentator upon the laws of the land;" after which it will be time enough to ask him, By what authority he directs the clergy "to recommend" his comments from the pulpit or the press? *

* "It is with a just deference to your great power and influence in this kingdom, that I lay before you the following comment upon the laws which regard the settlement of the imperial crown of Great Britain. My purpose in addressing these matters to you, is to conjure you, as Heaven has blessed you with proper talents and opportunities, to recommend them, in your writings and discourses, to your fellow-subjects.

"In the character of pastors and teachers, you have an almost irresistible power over us of your congregations; and, by the admirable institution of our laws, the tenths of our lands, now in your possession, are destined to become the property of such others, as shall, by learning and virtue, qualify themselves to succeed you. These circumstances of education and fortune place the minds of the people, from age to age, under your direction: As therefore, it would be the highest indiscretion in ministers of state of this kingdom, to neglect the care of being acceptable to you in their administration; so it would be the greatest impiety

He tells the clergy, "there are two circumstances which place the minds of the people under their direction;" the first circumstance is their education; the second circumstance is the tenths of our lands. This last, according to the Latin phrase, is spoken *ad invidiam*, for he knows well enough they have not the twentieth: but if you take it in his own way, the landlord has nine parts in ten of the people's minds under his direction. Upon this rock the author before us is perpetually splitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow bounds of his literature. He has a confused remembrance of words since he left the university, but has lost half their meaning, and puts them together with no regard, except to their cadence; as I remember, a fellow nailed up maps in a gentleman's closet, some side-long, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the pannels

I am sensible it is of little consequence to their cause, whether this defender of it understands grammar or not; and if what he would fain say, discovered him to be a well-wisher to reason or truth, I would be ready to make large allowances. But, when with great difficulty I descry a composition of rancour and falsehood, intermixed with plausible nonsense, I feel a struggle between contempt and indignation, at seeing the character of a Censor, a Guardian, an Englishman, a commentator on the laws, an instructor of the clergy, assumed by a child of obscurity, without one single qualification to support them.

in you, to enflame the people committed to your charge, with apprehensions of danger to you and your constitution, from men innocent of any such designs."—*Critics*.

This writer, who either affects, or is commanded, of late to copy from the bishop of Sarum, has, out of the pregnancy of his invention, found out an old way of insinuating the grossest reflections, under the appearance of admonitions;* and is so judicious a follower of the prelate, that he taxes the clergy for "inflaming their people with apprehensions of danger to them and their constitution, from men who are innocent of such designs;" when he must needs confess the whole "design" of his pamphlet is, "to inflame the people with apprehensions of danger" from the present ministry, whom we believe to be at least as innocent men as the last.

What shall I say to the pamphlet, where the malice and falsehood of every line would require an answer, and where the dulness and absurdities will not deserve one?

By his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable respect to the clergy, he would insinuate, that those papers among the *Tatlers* and *Spectators*, where the whole order is abused, were not his own. I will appeal to all who know the flatness of his style, and the barrenness of his invention, whether he does not grossly prevaricate? Was he ever able to walk without leading-strings, or swim without bladders, without being discovered by his hobbling and his sinking? has he adhered to his character in his paper called the *Englishman*, whereof he is allowed to be the sole author, without any competition? What does he think of the letter signed by himself, which re-

* The pastoral admonitions of Bishop Burnet usually contained some political touches.

lates to Molesworth, in whose* defence he affronts the whole convocation of Ireland?

It is a wise maxim, that because the clergy are no civil lawyers, they ought not to preach obedience to governors; and therefore they ought not to preach temperance, because they are no physicians. Examine all this author's writings, and then point me out a divine who knows less of the constitution of England than he: witness those many egregious blunders in his late papers, where he pretended to dabble in the subject.

But the clergy have, it seems, imbibed their notions of power and obedience, abhorrent from our laws, "from the pompous ideas of imperial greatness, and the submission to absolute emperors."† This is gross ignorance, below a school-boy in his Lucius Florus. The Roman history, wherein lads are instructed, reached little above eight hundred years, and the authors do every where instil republican principles; and from the account of nine in twelve of the first emperors, we learn to have a detestation against tyranny. The Greeks carry this point yet a great

* Mr Molesworth, afterwards Lord Viscount Molesworth, of Swords, in Ireland, was removed from the privy council for an insult upon the Convocation in Ireland. The offence consisted in his having said, when the clergy were about to move a Tory address, "those who have turned the world upside down, are come hither also," words which were represented as a profane application of scripture, and, at the same time, an insult upon the Convocation. Steele pleaded Molesworth's defence from this absurd accusation, for such (having Swift's presence) it unquestionably was, in his political paper called the *Englishman*.

† "These men, from the pompous ideas of imperial greatness, and submission to absolute emperors, which they imbibed in their earlier years, have from time to time inadvertently uttered notions of power and obedience abhorrent from the laws of this their native country."—*Crisis*.

deal higher, which none can be ignorant of, who has read or heard them quoted. This gave Hobbes the occasion of advancing a position directly contrary, that the youth of England were corrupted in their political principles, by reading the histories of Rome and Greece; which, having been written under republics, taught the readers to have ill notions of monarchy. In this assertion there was something specious; but that advanced by the Crisis, could only issue from the profoundest ignorance.

But, would you know his scheme of education for young gentlemen at the university? it is, that they should spend their time in perusing those acts of parliament, * whereof his pamphlet is an extract, which, "if it had been done, the kingdom would not be in its present condition, but every member sent into the world thus instructed, since the Revolution, would have been an advocate for our rights and liberties."

Here now is a project for getting more money by the Crisis! to have it read by tutors in the universities. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our students had been thus employed for twenty years past, "the kingdom had not been in its present condition;" but we have too many of such proficients already among the young nobility and gentry, who have gathered up their politics from chocolate houses and factious clubs; and who, if they had spent their time in hard study at Oxford or Cambridge, we might indeed have said, that the factious part of this kingdom

* Steele certainly does state, that if the acts mentioned in his treatise had been carefully recommended to the perusal of young gentlemen in colleges, the constitution would have had a defender in every one whom they sent out to the world.

“ had not been in its present condition,” or have suffered themselves to be taught, that a few acts of parliament, relating to the succession, are preferable to all other civil institutions whatsoever. Neither did I ever before hear, that an act of parliament, relating to one particular point, could be called a civil institution.

He spends almost a quarto page in telling the clergy, that they will be certainly perjured if they bring in the pretender, whom they have abjured; and he wisely reminds them, that they have sworn without equivocation or mental reservation, otherwise the clergy might think, that as soon as they received the pretender, and turned papists, they would be free from their oath.

This honest, civil, ingenious gentleman, knows in his conscience, that there are not ten clergymen in England (except nonjurors) who do not abhor the thoughts of the pretender reigning over us, much more than himself. But this is the spit-
tle of the bishop of Sarum,* which our author licks up, and swallows, and then coughs out again with an addition of his own phlegm. I would fain suppose the body of the clergy were to return an answer, by one of their members, to these worthy counsellors. I conceive it might be in the following terms :

“ My Lord and Gentleman,

“ The clergy command me to give you thanks for your advice; and if they knew any crimes, from which either of you were as free, as they are from those which you so earnestly exhort them to

* See Swift's ironical preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction.

avoid, they would return your favour as near as possible, in the same style and manner. However, that your advice may not be wholly lost, particularly that part of it which relates to the pretender, they desire you would apply it to more proper persons. Look among your own leaders; examine which of them engaged in a plot to restore the late king James, and received pardons under his seal; examine which of them have been since tampering with his pretended son, and, to gratify their ambition, their avarice, their malice, and revenge, are now willing to restore him, at the expense of the religion and liberty of their country. Retire, good my lord, with your pupil, and let us hear no more of these hypocritical insinuations, lest the queen and ministers, who have been hitherto content with only disappointing the lurking villanies of your faction, may be at last provoked to expose them."

But his respect for the clergy is such, that he does not "insinuate" as if they really had these evil dispositions; he only "insinuates," that they give "too much cause" for such "insinuations."

I will upon this occasion strip some of his insinuations from their generality and solecisms, and drag them into the light. His dedication to the clergy is full of them, because here he endeavours to mould up his rancour and civility together; by which constraint, he is obliged to shorten his paragraphs, and to place them in such a light, that they obscure one another. Supposing therefore that I have scraped off his good manners, in order to come at his meaning, which lies under; he tells the clergy, that the favour of the queen and her ministers, is but "a colour of zeal toward them;" that the people were deluded by a groundless cry of the church's danger at Sacheverell's tri-

al; that the clergy, as they are "men of sense and honour," ought to preach this truth to their several congregations; and let them know, that the true design of the present men in power, in that, and all their proceedings since in favour of the church, was, to bring in popery, France, and the pretender, and to enslave all Europe, contrary to the "laws of our country, the power of the legislature, the faith of nations, and the honour of God."

I cannot see why the clergy, as "men of sense, and men of honour," (for he appeals not to them as men of religion) should not be allowed to know when they are in danger, and be able to guess whence it comes, and who are their protectors. The design of their destruction indeed may have been projected in the dark; but when all was ripe, their enemies proceeded to so many overt acts in the face of the nation, that it was obvious to the meanest people, who wanted no other motives to rouse them. On the other side, can this author, or the wisest of his faction, assign one single act of the present ministry, any way tending toward bringing in the pretender, or to weaken the succession of the house of Hanover? Observe then the reasonableness of this gentleman's advice: the clergy, the gentry, and the common people, had the utmost apprehensions of danger to the church under the late ministry; yet then it was the greatest impiety to "inflammé the people with any such apprehensions." His danger of a popish successor, from any steps of the present ministry, is an artificial calumny, raised and spread against the conviction of the inventors, pretended to be believed only by those, who abhor the constitution in church and state; an obdurate faction who compass Heaven and earth, to restore them-

selves upon the ruin of their country; yet here our author "exhorts the clergy" to preach up this imaginary danger to their people, and disturb the public peace, with his strained seditious comments.

But how comes this gracious licence to the clergy from the Whigs, to concern themselves with politics of any sort, although it be only the glosses and comments of Mr Steele? The speeches of the managers at Sacheverell's trial, particularly those of Stanhope, Lechmere, King, Parker, * and some others, seemed to deliver a different doctrine. Nay, this very dedication complains of "some in holy orders, who have made the constitution of their country," (in which and the Coptic Mr Steele is equally skilled) "a very little part of their study, and yet made obedience and government the frequent subjects of their discourses" This difficulty is easily solved; for by politics, they mean obedience. Mr Hoadly, † who is a champion for resistance, was never charged with meddling out of his function: Hugh Peters, and his brethren, in the times of usurpation, had full liberty to preach up sedition and rebellion; and so here, Mr Steele issues out his licence to the clergy, to preach up the "danger of a popish pretender," in defiance of the queen and her administration.

Every whiffler in a laced coat, who frequents the chocolate-house, and is able to spell the title of a pamphlet, shall talk of the constitution with as much plausibility as this very solemn writer, and with as good a grace blame the clergy for

* These persons were created peers by King George I.

† Doctor Benjamin Hoadly, successively bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester.

meddling with politics, which they do not understand. I have known many of these able politicians furnished, before they were of age, with all the necessary topics of their faction, and, by the help of about twenty polysyllables, capable of maintaining an argument, that would shine in the *C11S1S*, whose author gathered up his little stock from the same schools, and has written from no other fund

But after all, it is not clear to me, whether this gentleman addresses himself to the clergy of England in general, or only to those very few (hardly enough, in case of a change, to supply the mortality of those "self-denying prelates" he celebrates) who are in his principles, and, among these, only such as live in and about London; which probably will reduce the number to about half a dozen at most. I should incline to guess the latter; because he tells them, they "are surrounded by a learned, wealthy, knowing gentry, who know with what firmness, self-denial, and charity, the bishops adhered to the public cause, and what contumelies those clergymen have undergone, &c. who adhered to the cause of truth." By those terms, "the public cause," and "the cause of truth," he understands the cause of the Whigs, in opposition to the queen and her servants. therefore by the "learned, wealthy, and knowing gentry," he must understand the Bank and East-India company, and those other merchants or citizens within the bills of mortality, who have been strenuous against the church and crown, and whose spirit of faction has lately got the better of their interest.* For, let him search all the rest

* He alludes to the depression of the public funds, occasioned by the Whigs selling out their stock.

of the kingdom, he will find the "surrounded" clergy, and the "surrounding" gentry, wholly strangers to the merits of those prelates; and adhering to a very different "cause of truth," as will soon, I hope, be manifest, by a fair appeal to the representatives of both. *

It was very unnecessary in this writer to bespeak the treatment of contempt and derision, which the clergy are to expect from his faction, whenever they come into power. † I believe that venerable body is in very little concern after what manner their most mortal enemies intend to treat them, whenever it shall please God, for our sins, to visit us with so fatal an event, which I hope it will be the united endeavours both of clergy, and laity, to hinder. It would be some support to this hope, if I could have any opinion of his predicting talent, (which some have ascribed to people of this author's character) where he tells us, that "noise and wrath will not always pass for zeal." What other instances of zeal has this gentleman, or the rest of his party, been able to produce? if clamour be "noise," it is but opening our ears to know from what side it comes; and if sedition, scurrility, slander, and calumny, be the fruit of "wrath," read the pamphlets and papers issuing from the "zealots" of that faction, or visit their clubs and coffee-houses, in order to form a judgment of the tree.

When Mr Steele tells us, "we have a religion

* The Convocation, as well as the Parliament, were just about to sit.

† Swift seizes on this expression, "those who pursue the gratifications of pride, ambition, and avarice, under the sacred character of clergymen, will not fail to be our contempt and derision."—*Crisis*, p. iv. Introd.

that wants no support from the enlargement of secular power, but is well supported by the wisdom and piety of its preachers, and its own native truth," it would be good to know what religion he professes. for the clergy, to whom he speaks, will never allow him to be a member of the church of England. They cannot agree, that the "truth" of the Gospel, and the "piety" and "wisdom" of its preachers, are a sufficient support, in an evil age, against infidelity, faction, and vice, without the assistance of "secular power," unless God would please to confer the gift of miracles on those who wait at the altar. I believe they venture to go a little farther, and think, that upon some occasions, they want a little "enlargement of assistance from the secular power," against "atheists, deists, socinians," and other heretics. Every first day in Lent a part of the Liturgy is read to the people, in the preface to which, the church declares her wishes for the restoring of that discipline she formerly had, and which, for some years past, has been more wanted than ever. But of this no more, lest it might "insinuate jealousies between the clergy and laity;" which the author tells us, is the "policy of vain ambitious men among the former, in hopes to derive from their order, a veneration they cannot deserve from their virtue." If this be their method for procuring veneration, it is the most singular that ever was thought on, and the clergy would then indeed have no more to do with politics of any sort, than Mr Steele or his faction will allow them.

Having thus toiled through his dedication, I proceed to consider his preface, which, half consisting of quotation, will be so much the sooner got through. It is a very unfair thing in any

writer to employ his ignorance and malice together, because it gives his answer double work; it is like the sort of sophistry that the logicians call two mediums, which are never allowed in the same syllogism. A writer, with a weak head, and a corrupt heart, is an over-match for any single pen; like a hmeling jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to stir, yet offering at every turn to kick.

He begins his preface with such an account of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions, as I am confident was never once imagined by any writer upon government, from Plato to Mr Locke. Give me leave to transcribe his first paragraph. "I never saw an unruly crowd of people cool by degrees into temper, but it gave me an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil insinuations. One particular man has usually in those cases, from the dignity of his appearance, or other qualities known or imagined by the multitude, been received into sudden favour and authority; the occasion of their difference has been represented to him, and the matter referred to his decision."

I have known a poet, who never was out of England, introduce a fact by way of simile, which could probably no where happen nearer than in the plains of Libya; and begin with, "So have I seen."* Such a fiction I suppose may be justified by poetical licence; yet Virgil is much more modest. This paragraph of Mr Steele's, which he sets down as an observation of his own,

* This sort of ocular evidence is ridiculed by Martin Scribbleus, who gives as an example

"So have I seen in Araby the blest,
A Phoenix couch'd upon her funeral nest."

is a miserable mangled translation of six verses out of that famous poet, who speaks after this manner: "As when a sedition arises in a great multitude, &c. then if they see a wise great man, &c." Virgil, who lived but a little after the ruin of the Roman republic, where seditions often happened, and the force of oratory was great among the people, made use of a simile, which Mr Steele turns into a fact, after such a manner as if he had seen it a hundred times; and builds upon it a system of the origin of government. When the vulgar here in England assemble in a riotous manner, (which is not very frequent of late years) the prince takes a much more effectual way than that of sending orators to appease them: but Mr Steele imagines such a crowd of people as this, where there is no government at all; their "unruliness" quelled, and their passions "cooled" by a particular man, whose great qualities they had known before. Such an assembly must have risen suddenly from the earth, and the "man of authority" dropped from the clouds; for, without some previous form of government, no such "crowd" did ever yet assemble, or could possibly be acquainted with the merits and dignity of any "particular" man among them. But to pursue his scheme; this man of authority, who "cools" the "crowd" by degrees, and to whom they all appeal, must of necessity prove either an open, or, "clandestine tyrant." A "clandestine tyrant" I take to be a king of Brentford, who keeps his army in disguise, and whenever he happens either to die naturally, be knocked on the head, or deposed, the people "calmly take farther measures, and improve upon what was begun under

his unlimited power."* All this our author tells us, with extreme propriety, "is what seems reasonable to common sense;" that is, in other words, it seems reasonable to reason. This is what he calls "giving an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions." To which I answer with great phlegm, that I defy any man alive to show me in double the number of lines, although writ by the same author, such a complicated ignorance in history, human nature, or politics, as well as in the ordinary properties of thought or of style.

But it seems these profound speculations were only premised to introduce some quotations in favour of resistance. What has resistance to do with the succession of the House of Hanover, that the Whig writers should perpetually affect to tack them together? I can conceive nothing else, but that their hatred to the queen and ministry puts them upon thoughts of introducing the successor by another revolution. Are cases of extreme necessity to be introduced as common maxims, by which we are always to proceed? should not these gentlemen sometimes inculcate the general rule of obedience, and not always the exception of resistance? since the former has been the perpetual dictate of all laws both divine and civil, and the latter is still in dispute.

I shall meddle with none of the passages he cites to prove the lawfulness of resisting princes,

* "This first step towards acting reasonably has brought them to themselves; and when the person, by an appeal to whom they first were taken out of confusion, was gone from amongst them, they have calmly taken further measures from a sense of their common good." *Crisis*.

except that from the present lord-chancellor's^{*} speech in defence of Mr Sacheverel; "that there are extraordinary cases, cases of necessity, which are implied, although not expressed, in the general rule" (of obedience.) These words, very clear in themselves, Mr Steele explains into nonsense; which in any other author, I should suspect to have been intended as a reflection upon as great a person as ever filled or adorned that high station; but I am so well acquainted with his pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true quotation, than a false comment. To see him treat my Lord Harcourt with so much civility, looks indeed a little suspicious, and as if he had malice in his heart. He calls his lordship a very great man, and a great living authority; places himself in company with general Stanhope, and Mr Hoadly; and in short, takes the most effectual method in his power of ruining his lordship in the opinion of every man, who is wise or good. I can only tell my Lord Harcourt, for his comfort, that these praises are encumbered with the doctrine of resistance, and the true revolution principles; and provided he will not allow Mr Steele for his commentator, he may hope to recover the honour of being libelled again, as well as his sovereign and fellow-servants.

We now come to the Crisis; where we meet with two pages, by way of introduction to those extracts from acts of parliament, that constitute the body of his pamphlet. This introduction begins with a definition of liberty, and then proceeds in a panegyric upon that great blessing. His panegyric is made up of half a dozen shreds,

^{*} Sir Simon Harcourt was first Lord Harcourt.

like a school-boy's theme, beaten general topics, where any other man alive might wander securely; but this politician, by venturing to vary the good old phrases, and give them a new turn, commits a hundred solecisms and absurdities. The weighty truths, which he endeavours to press upon his reader, are such as these. That "liberty is a very good thing;" that "without liberty we cannot be free;" that "health is good, and strength is good, but liberty is better than either;" that "no man can be happy without the liberty of doing whatever his own mind tells him is best;" that "men of quality love liberty, and common people love liberty," even women and children love liberty; and you cannot please them better than by letting them do what they please. Had Mr Steele contented himself to deliver these, and the like maxims, in such intelligible terms, I could have found where we agreed, and where we differed. But let us hear some of these axioms, as he has involved them. "We cannot possess our souls with pleasure and satisfaction, except we preserve in ourselves that inestimable blessing, which we call liberty. By liberty I desire to be understood to mean the happiness of men's living, &c."—The true "life of man consists in conducting it according to his own just sentiments and innocent inclinations,"—"man's being is degraded below that of a free agent, when his affections and passions are no longer governed by the dictates of his own mind."—"Without liberty our health," (among other things,) "may be at the will of a tyrant, employed to our own ruin, and that of our fellow-creatures." If there be any of these maxims, which are not grossly defective in truth, in sense, or in grammar, I will allow them to pass for uncontroll-

lable. By the first, omitting the pedantry of the whole expression, there are not above one or two nations in the world, where any one man can "possess his soul with pleasure and satisfaction." In the second, "he desires to be understood to mean;" that is, he desires to be meant to mean, or to be understood to understand. In the third, "the life of man consists in conducting" his life. In the fourth he affirms, that "men's beings are degraded, when their passions are no longer governed by the dictates of their own minds;" directly contrary to lessons of all moralists and legislators; who agree unanimously, that the passions of men must be under the government of reason and law; neither are the laws of any other use, than to correct the irregularity of our affections. By the last, "our health is ruinous to ourselves, and other men, when a tyrant pleases;" which I leave to him to make out.

I cannot sufficiently commend our ancestors, for transmitting to us the blessing of liberty;* yet having "laid out their blood and treasure upon the purchase," I do not see how they "acted parsimoniously," because I can conceive nothing more generous, than that of employing our blood and treasure for the service of others. But I am suddenly struck with the thought, that I have found his meaning; our ancestors acted parsimoniously, because they spent only their own treasure for the good of their posterity;

* "The late kingdoms of England and Scotland have contended for it from age to age, with too great a price of blood and treasure to be given for the purchase of any other blessing, but laid out parsimoniously, when we consider they have transmitted this to their posterity." *Crisis*.

whereas we squandered away the treasures of our posterity too; but whether they will be thankful, and think it was done for the preservation of their liberty, must be left to themselves for a decision.*

I verily believe, although I could not prove it in Westminster-hall before a lord-chief-justice, that by "enemies to our constitution," and "enemies to our present establishment," Mr Steele "would desire to be understood to mean," my lord-treasurer and the rest of the ministry; by "those who are grown supine, in proportion to the danger to which our liberty is every day more exposed," I should guess he means the Tories: and by "honest men, who ought to look up with a spirit that becomes honesty," he understands the Whigs; I likewise believe, he would take it ill, or think me stupid, if I did not thus expound him. I say then, that, according to this exposition, the four great officers of state, together with the rest of the cabinet council, (except the archbishop of Canterbury,†) are "enemies to our establishment, making artful and open attacks upon our constitution," and are now "practising indirect arts, and mean subtleties, to weaken the security of those acts of parliament, for settling the succession in the House of Hanover." The first, and most notorious of these criminals, is, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, lord-high-treasurer, who is reputed to be chief minister; the second is, James Butler, Duke of Ormond, who commands the army, and designs to employ it in bringing over the pretender; the third is, Henry

* Alluding to the debt incurred in the Continental war.

† Dr Tenison.

St John, lord viscount Bolingbroke, secretary of state, who must be supposed to hold a constant correspondence at the court of *Bar le Duc*, as the late Earl of Godolphin did with that at St Germain: and, to avoid tediousness, Mr Bromley,* and the rest, are employed in their several districts to the same end. These are the opinions, which Mr Steele and his faction, under the direction of their leaders, are endeavouring, with all their might, to propagate among the people of England, concerning the present ministry; with what reservation to the honour, wisdom, or justice of the queen, I cannot determine; who, by her own free choice, after long experience of their abilities and integrity, and in compliance to the general wishes of her people, called them to her service. Such an accusation against persons in so high trust, should require, I think, at least one single overt act to make it good. If there be no other choice of persons fit to serve the crown, without danger from the pretender, except among those who are called the Whig party, the Hanover succession is then indeed in a very desperate state; that illustrious family will have almost nine in ten of the kingdom against it, and those principally of the landed interest; which is most to be depended upon, in such a nation as ours.

I have now got as far as his extracts, which I shall not be at the pains of comparing with the originals, but suppose he has gotten them fairly transcribed; I only think, that whoever is patentee for printing acts of parliament, may have a very fair action against him for invasion of pro-

* Speaker

perty ; but this is none of my business to inquire into.

After two-and-twenty pages spent in reciting acts of parliament, he desires leave to repeat the history and progress of the union ; upon which I have some few things to observe.

This work, he tells us, was unsuccessfully attempted by several of her majesty's predecessors ; although I do not remember* it was ever thought on by any, except King James the First, and the late King William I have read indeed, that some small overtures were made by the former of these princes toward a union between the two kingdoms, but rejected with indignation and contempt by the English ; and the historian tells us, that how degenerate and corrupt soever the court and parliament then were, they would not give ear to so infamous a proposal. I do not find, that any of the succeeding princes before the Revolution, ever resumed the design, because it was a project, for which there could not possibly be assigned the least reason or necessity, for I defy any mortal to name one single advantage that England could ever expect from such a union.†

* The author's memory here deceived him ; but he acknowledged his mistake in the Examiner, 11th March 1713.

† The experience of nearly a century, may now enable us to speak with tolerable precision on the subject of the Union. The advantage of the first fifty years was entirely on the side of England, who secured, in the first place, the grand object of national security ; secondly, a right to draw from Scotland, as from a vanquished province, supplies of soldiers, of sailors, of colonists, and of labourers. It was not until the accession of his present majesty, that these advantages were more than an hundred fold repaid to Scotland. It was not until the generation was utterly extinguished, that remembered the independence of Scotland, and

But toward the end of the late king's reign, upon apprehensions of the want of issue from him or the princess Anne, a proposition for uniting both kingdoms was begun; because Scotland had not settled their crown upon the House of Hanover, but left themselves at large, in hopes to make their advantage; and it was thought highly dangerous to leave that part of the island, inhabited by a poor fierce northern people, at liberty to put themselves under a different king. However, the opposition to this work was so great, that it could not be overcome, until some time after her present majesty came to the crown, when, by the weakness or corruption of a certain minister, since dead, an act of parliament was obtained for the Scots, which gave them leave to arm themselves;* and so the union became necessary, not

framed their views and schemes upon principles which preceded the Union; it was not until a new race had arisen, who hardly remembered the distinction between English and Scottish, that my countrymen were enabled to avail themselves of the incalculable resources which the Union had placed in their power. It seemed as if Scotland bewailed, in her wilderness, the loss of her monarchy, as Jephthah's daughter did her virginity, for a certain term of years, and then, with energy, opened her eyes to the brighter prospects acquired by that sacrifice of imaginary independence.

* The Act of Security, as it was called, here alluded to, was in its very front hostile to England. It professed to provide for the security of the kingdom, in case of the Queen's death without issue, and for the speedy meeting of a Scottish parliament in that event. It stipulated, that the same person should be incapable of succeeding to both kingdoms, unless a free communication of trade, and the benefit of the navigation act, were extended to Scotland. It declared, that with the sovereign all military commissions expired, and that the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, were to be enrolled and drilled monthly. Lastly, that Scotland might not be engaged in the continental wars of England, without the consent of her own legislation, the prerogative of declaring peace and war was vested in the estates, instead of the crown exclusively. This

for any actual good it could possibly do us, but to avoid a probable evil, and at the same time save an obnoxious minister's head; who was so wise as to take the first opportunity of procuring a general pardon by act of parliament, because he could not, with so much decency and safety, desire a particular one for himself. These facts are well enough known to the whole kingdom. And I remember, discoursing above six years ago with the most considerable person* of the adverse party, and a great promoter of the union, he frankly owned to me, that this necessity, brought upon us by the wrong management of the Earl of Godolphin, was the only cause of the union.

Therefore I am ready to grant two points to the author of the Crisis; first, that the union became necessary for the cause above related; because it prevented this island from being governed by two kings; which England would never have suffered; and it might probably have cost us a war of a year or two to reduce the Scots. Secondly, that it would be dangerous to break

act had been provoked, by the conduct of England during the attempt to make a Scottish settlement at Darien, and by the deep and immortal jealousy with which a weaker nation always regards the motions of the stronger. But it was obvious, that the act of security bore in its bosom the seeds of separation from England, and left no alternative to the English ministry, but immediate union, or the risque of future civil war. Swift blames Godolphin for permitting it to be passed. It was once rejected by the refusal of the royal assent, but revived and passed in 1704: Both countries must have deeply felt the effects of civil discord, but chiefly the richer and more unwarlike; and when Swift says, coolly, it would have cost England only *a war of a year or two* to reduce Scotland, he gives the most effectual approbation of an union, which was to spare the issue of such an experiment.

* Lord Somers.

this union, at least in this juncture, while there is a pretender abroad, who might probably lay hold of such an opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the spirit of faction last summer, among some people, who, having been the great promoters of the union, and several of them the principal gainers by it, could yet proceed so far as to propose in the House of Lords, that it should be dissolved; while, at the same time, those peers, who had ever opposed it in the beginning, were then for preserving it, upon the reason I have just assigned, and which the author of the Crisis has likewise taken notice of.

But when he tells us, "the Englishmen ought, in generosity, to be more particularly careful in preserving this union," he argues like himself. "The late kingdom of Scotland, (says he,) had as numerous a nobility as England," &c.* They had indeed; and to that we owe one of the great and necessary evils of the union, upon the foot it now stands. Their nobility is indeed so numerous, that the whole revenues of their country would

* The full passage is . "For the late kingdom of Scotland had as numerous a nobility as England, and the representatives of their Commons were also very numerous, they have by the articles of union consented to send only sixteen peers, and forty-five commons, to the parliament of Great Britain, which hath the same number of lords and commons for England that were before the union; so that the Scots representatives can make no stand in the defence of all, or any of the articles of the union, should they be opposed by such unequal numbers of the lords and commons of England; and therefore it is most plain, from the impotence in which so many wise and able men of the Scots nation left themselves in these particulars, that they understood the points of religion in England and Scotland respectively, the succession to the crown of Great Britain, and all other articles of the union, were never to be controverted." *Crisis*.

be hardly able to maintain them, according to the dignity of their titles; and, what is infinitely worse, they are never likely to be extinct until the last period of all things; because the greatest part of them descend to heirs general. I imagine a person of quality prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing she was as good as her husband, because she brought him as numerous a family of relations and servants, as she found in his house. Scotland, in the taxes, is obliged to contribute one penny for every forty-pence laid upon England; and the representatives they send to parliament are about a thirteenth. Every other Scotch peer has all the privileges of an English one, except that of sitting in parliament, and even precedence before all of the same title that shall be created for the time to come. The pensions and employments possessed by the natives of that country now among us, do amount to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home, and all the money they raise upon the public, is hardly sufficient to defray their civil and military lists. I could point out some, with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the union, although their whole revenues before that period, would have ill maintained a Welsh justice of peace, and have since gathered more money, than ever any Scotchman, who had not travelled, could form an idea of. *

* He alludes to John Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, and his brother Archibald Earl of Islay. The duke had been deeply in the counsels of Oxford; but he was rather an enemy to the Duke of Marlborough, than a friend to the Tory interest, and they are

I have only one thing more to say upon occasion of the union act; which is, that the author of the *Crisis* may be fairly proved, from his own citations, to be guilty of high treason. In a paper of his called the *Englishman*, of October 29, there is an advertisement about taking in subscriptions for printing the *Crisis*, where the title is published at length with the following clause, which the author thought fit to drop in the publication; ("and that no power on earth can buy, alter, or make void the present settlement of the crown, &c By Richard Steele.") In his extract of an act of parliament made since the union, it appears to be "high treason" for "any person, by writing or printing, to maintain and affirm, that the kings or queens of this realm, with and by the authority of parliament, are not able to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to limit and bind the crown, and the descent, limitation, inheritance, and the government thereof." This act being subsequent to the settle-

said finally to have differed upon the duke's demanding the post of master-general of the ordnance. Upon receiving a refusal, he resolved to extort, by force, what favour had failed to procure him, and entered keenly into the cabals of his countrymen, then bent on a dissolution of the Union. The extension of the malt-tax to Scotland being considered as a grievance, the duke, with the Earl of Mar and two Scottish commoners, went to make a formal remonstrance to the queen. And he supported the bill brought into parliament by the Earl of Seafield, for dissolving the Union. All these proceedings having greatly offended the ministry, the duke was deprived of his offices, and remained in opposition until the accession of George I. Swift had been his personal friend, but the breach in politics seems to have dissolved their intimacy; and as our author, on the one hand, threw out the sarcasm in the text upon the duke's character, his grace, on the other, headed the Scottish nobles in their denunciation of the pamphlet and the writer.

ment of the crown confirmed at the union, it is probable some friend of the author advised him to leave out those treasonable words in the printed title-page, which he had before published in the advertisement; and accordingly we find, that in the treatise itself he only "offers it to every good subject's consideration, whether this article of the settlement of the crown is not as firm as the union itself, and as the settlement of episcopacy in England, &c." And he thinks the "Scots understood it so, that the succession to the crown was never to be controverted."

These I take to be only "treasonable" insinuations, but the advertisement, before mentioned, is actually high treason; for which the author ought to be prosecuted, if that would avail any thing under a jurisdiction, where cursing the queen is not above the penalty of twenty marks.

Nothing is more notorious than that the Whigs of late years, both in their writings and discourses, have affected upon all occasions to allow the legitimacy of the pretender. This makes me a little wonder to see our author labouring to prove the contrary, by producing all the popular chat of those times, and other solid arguments from Fuller's narrative: * but it must be supposed, that this gentleman acts by the commands of his superiors, who have thought fit at this juncture to issue out new orders, for reasons best known to themselves. I wish they had been more clear in their directions to him upon that weighty point, whether the settlement of the

* William Fuller, an impudent impostor, who was pilloried in 1702 for a pretended discovery concerning the birth of the Chevalier St George.

succession in the House of Hanover be alterable or not. I have observed where, in his former pages, he gives it in the negative; but in the turning of a leaf, he has wholly changed his mind. He tells us, he “wonders there can be found any Briton weak enough to contend against a power in their own nation, which is practised in a much greater degree in other states:” and “how hard it is, that Britain should be debarred the privilege of establishing its own security, by relinquishing only those branches of the royal line, which threaten it with destruction; while other nations never scruple, upon less occasions, to go much greater lengths;” of which he produces instances in France, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and then adds, “can Great Britain help to advance men to other thrones, and have no power in limiting its own?” How can a senator, capable of doing honour to sir Thomas Hanmer, be guilty of such ridiculous inconsistencies? “The author of the Conduct of the Allies (says he) has dared to drop insinuations about altering the succession.” The author of the Conduct of the Allies writes sense and English; neither of which the author of the Crisis understands. The former thinks “it wrong in point of policy to call in a foreign power to be guarantee of our succession, because it puts it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession, without the consent of that prince or state, who is guarantee, whatever necessity may happen in future times.” Now, if it be high treason to affirm by writing, that the legislature has no such power; and if Mr Steele thinks it strange that Britain should be debarred this privilege, what could be the crime of putting such a case, that in future

ages, a necessity might happen of limiting the succession, as well as it has happened already?

When Mr Steele “reflects upon the many solemn, strong barriers (to our succession) of laws and oaths, &c he thinks all fear vanishes before them.” I think so too, provided the epithet *solemn* goes for nothing; because, although I have often heard of a solemn day, a solemn feast, and a solemn coxcomb, yet I can conceive no idea to myself of a solemn barrier. However, be that as it will, his “thoughts it seems will not let him rest, but, before he is aware, he asks himself several questions;” and, since he cannot resolve them, I will endeavour to give him what satisfaction I am able. The first is, “what are the marks of a lasting security?” To which I answer, that the signs of it in a kingdom or state are, first, good laws; and secondly, those laws well executed. we are pretty well provided with the former, but extremely defective in the latter.—Secondly, “what are our tempers and our hearts at home?” If by ours, he means those of himself and his abettors, they are most damnably wicked; impatient for the death of the queen, ready to gratify their ambition and revenge, by all desperate methods; wholly alienate from truth, law, religion, mercy, conscience, or honour.—Thirdly, “in what hands is power lodged abroad?” To answer the question naturally, Lewis XIV. is King of France, Philip V. (by the counsels and acknowledgments of the Whigs) is King of Spain, and so on. If by power he means money, the Duke of Marlborough is thought to have more ready money than all the kings of Christendom together; but, by the peculiar disposition of Providence, it is locked up in a trunk, to which his ambition has no key; and that is

our security.—Fourthly, “are our unnatural divisions our strength?” I think not; but they are the sign of it, for being unnatural they cannot last; and this shows, that union, the foundation of all strength, is more agreeable to our nature.—Fifthly, “is it nothing to us, which of the princes of Europe has the longest sword?” Not much, if we can tie up his hands, or put a strong shield into those of his neighbours; or if our sword be as sharp as his is long; or if it be necessary for him to turn his own sword into a ploughshare; or if such a sword happens to be in the hands of an infant, or struggled for by two competitors.—Sixthly, “the powerful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us, may it not in time reach a king out to us too?” If the powerful hand he means be that of France, it may reach out as many kings as it pleases; but we will not accept them. Whence does this man get his intelligence? I should think even his brother Ridpath might furnish him with better. What crowns or kingdoms has France dealt about? Spain was given by the will of the former king, in consequence of that infamous treaty of partition, the adviser of which will, I hope, never be forgot in England. Sicily was disposed of, by her majesty of Great Britain; so in effect was Sardinia. France indeed once reached out a king to Poland, but the people would not receive him. This question of Mr. Steele’s was therefore only put *in terrorem*, without any regard to truth.—Seventhly, “are there no pretensions to our crown that can ever be revived?” There may, for aught I know, be about a dozen; and those, in time, may possibly beget a hundred; but we must do as well as we can. Captain Bessus, when he had fifty challenges to an-

swe1, protested he could not fight above three duels a day. "If the pretender should fail," says the writer, "the French King has in his quiver a succession of them; the Duchess of Savoy, or her sons, or the dauphin, her grandson." Let me suppose the chevalier de St George to be dead, the Duchess of Savoy will then be a pretender, and consequently must leave her husband, because his royal highness (for Mr Steele has not yet acknowledged him for a king) is in alliance with her British majesty; her sons, when they grow pretenders, must undergo the same fate. But I am at a loss how to dispose of the dauphin, if he happen to be King of France before the pretendership to Britain falls to his share; for I doubt he will never be persuaded to remove out of his own kingdom, only because it is too near England.

But "the Duke of Savoy did, some years ago, put in his claim to the crown of England in right of his wife; and he is a prince of great capacity, in strict alliance with France, and may therefore very well add to our fears of a popish successor." Is it the fault of the present, or of any ministry, that this prince put in his claim? Must we give him opium to destroy his capacity? or can we prevent his alliance with any prince, who is in peace with her majesty? Must we send to stab or poison all the popish princes, who have any pretended title to our crown by the proximity of blood? What, in the name of God, can these people drive at? what is it they demand? Suppose the present dauphin were now a man, and the King of France, and next popish heir to the crown of England; is he not excluded by the laws of the land? But what regard will he have to our laws? I answer, has not the queen

as good a title to the crown of France ? and how is she excluded, but by their law against the succession of females, which we are not bound to acknowledge : and is it not in our power to exclude female successors, as well as in theirs ? If such a pretence shall prove the cause of a war, what human power can prevent it ? But our cause must necessarily be good and righteous ; for either the kings of England have been unjustly kept out of the possession of France, or the dauphin, although nearest of kin, can have no legal title to England. And he must be an ill prince indeed, who will not have the hearts and hands of ninety-nine in a hundred among his subjects, against such a popish pretender.

I have been the longer in answering the seventh question, because it led me to consider all he had afterward to say upon the subject of the pretender. Eighthly, and lastly, he asks himself, “ whether Popery and Ambition are become tame and quiet neighbours ? ” In this I can give him no satisfaction, because I never was in that street where they live ; nor do I converse with any of their friends ; only I find they are persons of a very evil reputation. But I am told for certain, that Ambition had removed her lodging, and lives the very next door to Faction, where they keep such a racket, that the whole parish is disturbed, and every night in an uproar.

This much in answer to those eight uneasy questions put by the author to himself, in order to satisfy every Briton, and give him an occasion of “ taking an impartial view of the affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great Britain in particular ”

After enumerating the great actions of the confederate armies, under the command of prince

Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, Mr Steele observes in the bitterness of his soul, that the "British general, however unaccountable it may be to posterity, was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of his glorious labour" Ten years fruits, it seems, were not sufficient, and yet they were the fruitfulest campaigns that ever any general cropped. However, I cannot but hope, that posterity will not be left in the dark, but some care taken both of her Majesty's glory, and the reputation of those she employs. An impartial historian may tell the world, (and the next age will easily believe what it continues to feel,) that the avarice and ambition of a few factious insolent subjects had almost destroyed their country, by continuing a ruinous war in conjunction with allies, for whose sake principally we fought, who refused to bear their just proportion of their charge, and were connived at in their refusal, for private ends: that these factious people treated the best and kindest of sovereigns with insolence, cruelty, and ingratitude, of which he will be able to produce several instances; that they encouraged persons and principles alien from our religion and government, in order to strengthen their faction; he will tell the reasons why the general, and first minister, were seduced to be heads of this faction, contrary to the opinions they had always professed. Such an historian will show many reasons, which made it necessary to remove the general and his friends; who, knowing the bent of the nation was against them, expected to lose their power when the war was at an end. Particularly, the historian will discover the whole intrigue of the Duke of Marlborough's endeavouring to procure a commission to be general for life: wherein justice will be done

to a person, at that time of high station in the law, who, (I mention it to his honour) advised the duke, when he was consulted upon it, not to accept of such a commission. By these, and many other instances which time will bring to light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to posterity, why this great man was dismissed at last, but rather why he was dismissed no sooner.

But this is entering into a wide field. I shall therefore leave posterity to the information of better historians than the author of the *Crisis* or myself, and go on to inform the present age, in some facts, which the great orator and politician thinks fit to misrepresent, with the utmost degree either of natural or wilful ignorance. He asserts, that in the Duke of Ormond's campaign, "after a suspension of arms between Great Britain and France, proclaimed at the head of the armies, the British troops in the midst of the enemy's garrisons withdrew themselves from their confederates." The fact is directly otherwise; for the British troops were most infamously deserted by the confederates, after all that could be urged by the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Stafford to press the confederate generals not to forsake them. The duke was directed to avoid engaging in any action, until he had farther orders, because an account of the King of Spain's renunciation was every day expected. This, the Imperialists and Dutch knew well enough: and therefore proposed to the duke, in that very juncture, to engage the French, for no other reason but to render desperate all the queen's measures toward a peace. Was not the certain possession of Dunkirk, of equal advantage to the uncertainty of a battle? A whole campaign under the Duke of Marlborough, with such an acquisition, al-

though at the cost of many thousand lives, and several millions of money, would have been thought very gloriously ended.

Neither, after all, was it a new thing, either in the British general, or the Dutch deputies, to refuse fighting, when they did not approve of it. When the Duke of Marlborough was going to invest Bouchain, the deputies of the States pressed him in vain to engage the enemy, and one of them was so far discontented upon his Grace's refusal, that he presently became a partizan of the peace; yet I do not remember any clamour then raised here against the Duke upon that account. Again, when the French invaded Douay, after the confederates had deserted the Duke of Ormond, Prince Eugene was violently bent upon a battle, and said they should never have another so good an opportunity; but Monsieur —, a private deputy, rose up, and opposed it so far, that the prince was forced to desist. Was it then more criminal in the Duke of Ormond to refuse fighting by express command of the queen, and in order to get possession of Dunkirk, than for the Duke of Marlborough to give the same refusal, without any such orders, or any such advantage? or shall a Dutch deputy assume more power than the Queen of Great Britain's general, acting by the immediate commands of his sovereign?

“The emperor and the emperie,” (says Mr Steele by way of admiration) “continue the war!” Is his imperial majesty able to continue it or not? if he be, then Great Britain has been strangely used for ten years past; then how came it to pass, that of about ten thousand men in his service in Italy at the time of the battle of Turin, there were not above four thousand paid by himself? If he be not able to continue it, why does he go on? The

reasons are clear; because the war only affects the princes of the empire, whom he is willing enough to expose, but not his own dominions. Besides, his Imperial ministers are in daily expectation of the queen's death; which they hope will give a new turn to affairs, and rekindle the war in Europe upon the old foot; and we know how the ministers of that court publicly assign it for a reason of their obstinacy against peace, that they hope for a sudden revolution in England. In the mean time, this appearance of the emperor's being forsaken by his ally, will serve to increase the clamour, both here and in Holland, against her majesty and those she employs.

Mr Steele says, "there can be no crime in affirming, (if it be truth) that the house of Bourbon is at this juncture become more formidable, and bids fairer for a universal monarchy, and to engross the whole trade of Europe, than it did before the war."

"No crime in affirming it, if it be truth." I will for once allow his proposition. But, if it be false, then I affirm, that whoever advances so seditious a falsehood, deserves to be hanged. Does he mean, by the house of Bourbon, the two kings of France and Spain? If so, I reject his meaning, which would insinuate, that the interests and designs of both those princes will be the same; whereas they are more opposite than those of any two other monarchs in Christendom. This is the whole foolish slander so frequently flung upon the peace, and as frequently refuted. These factious undertakers of the press write with great advantage; they strenuously affirm a thousand falsehoods, without fear, wit, conscience, or knowledge, and we, who answer them, must be at the expense of an argument for each; after which, in

the very next pamphlet, we see the same assertions produced again, without the least notice of what has been said to disprove them. By the house of Bourbon, does he mean only the French king for the time being? If so, and his assert on be true, then that prince must deal with the devil, or else the money and blood spent in our ten years victories against him, might as well have continued in the pulses and veins of her majesty's subjects.

But the particular assertions of this author are easier detected than his general ones; I shall therefore proceed upon examining the former. For instance I desire him to ask the Dutch, who can best inform him, "why they delivered up Traerbach to the Imperialists?" for, as to the queen, her majesty was never once consulted in it, whatever his piecepots, the politicians of But-ton's coffeehouse, may have informed him to the contrary.³

Mr Steele affirms, that the French "have begun the demolition of Dunkirk contemptuously and arbitrarily their own way." The governor of the town, and those gentlemen intrusted with the inspection of this work, do assure me, that the fact is altogether otherwise, that the method prescribed by those whom her majesty employs, has been exactly followed, and that the works are already demolished. I will venture to tell him farther, that the demolition was so long deferred, in order to remove those difficulties which the

³ "All the world knows with what frankness the Dutch have been treated to deliver up Traerbach to the Imperialists, as an expedient for the French to besiege it, because, forsooth, it lay convenient for their incursions upon the empire. This extravagant demand must give a melancholy prospect to other nations." *Crisis*.

bairrier treaty has put us under; and the event has shown, that it was prudent to proceed no faster, until those difficulties were got over. The mole and harbour could not be destroyed, until the ships were got out; which, by reason of some profound secrets of state, did not happen until the other day. Who "gave him those just suspicions, that the mole and harbour will never be destroyed?" What is it he would now insinuate? that the ministry is bribed to leave the most important part of the work undone, or, that the pretender is to invade us from thence, or that the queen has entered into a conspiracy with her servants, to prevent the good effects of the peace, for no other end but to lose the affections of her people, and endanger herself?

Instead of any farther information, which I could easily give, but which no honest man can want, I venture to affirm, that the mole and harbour of Dunkirk will in a short time be most effectually destroyed; and at the same time, I venture to prophesy, that neither Mr Steele, nor his faction, will ever confess they believe it.

After all, it is a little hard that the queen cannot be allowed to demolish this town, in whatever manner she pleases to fancy. Mr Steele must have it done in his own way, and is angry the French have pretended to do it in theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the bargain. For my own part, I do seriously think the most Christian king to be a much better friend of her majesty's than Mr Steele, or any of his faction. Besides, it is to be considered, that he is a monarch and a relation; and therefore, if I were a privy counsellor, and my advice to be asked, which of those two gentlemen born,* should have the direction

* Mr Steele often styles himself so.

in the demolition of Dunkirk, I will give it for the former; because I look upon Mr Steele, in quality of a member of his party, to be much more skilful in "demolishing at home" than "abroad."

There is a prospect of more danger to the balance of Europe, and to the trade of Britain, from the emperor overrunning Italy, than from France overrunning the empire. That his imperial majesty entertains such thoughts, is visible to the world; and although little can be said to justify many actions of the French king, yet the worst of them have never equalled the emperor's arbitrary keeping the possession of Milan, directly contrary to his oath, and to the express words of the golden bull, which oblige him to deliver up every fief that falls, or else they must all, in the course of time, lapse into his own hands.

I was at a loss who it was that Mr Steele hinted at some time ago, by "the powerful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us:" I now plainly find he meant no other hand but his own. He has dealt out the crown of Spain to France; to France he has given leave to invade the empire next spring, with two hundred thousand men; and now, at last, he deals to France the imperial dignity; and so "farewell liberty;" Europe will be French. But, in order to bring all this about, "the capital of Austria, the residence of his imperial majesty," must continue to be "visited by the plague," of which the emperor must die, and so the thing is done. *

* "Landau and Fribourg are taken; and in case there is no intermediate peace, which may still be more immediately fatal to us, two hundred thousand French may be ready in the spring to

Why should not I venture to "deal out one sceptre" in my turn, as well as Mr Steele? I therefore "deal out" the empire to the elector of Saxony, upon failure of issue, to this emperor at his death, provided the Whigs will prevail on the son to turn papist, to get an empire, as they did upon the father, to get a kingdom. Or, if this prince be not approved of, I deal it out in his stead to the elector of Bavaria; and in one or the other of these, I dare engage to have all Christendom to second me, whatever the spleen, in the shape of politics, may dictate to the author of the *Crisis*.

The design of Mr Steele, in representing the "circumstances of the affairs of Europe," is to signify to the world, that all Europe is put in the high road to slavery, by the corruption of her majesty's present ministers; and so he goes on to Portugal; which, "having during the war supplied us with gold in exchange for our woollen manufacture, has only at present a suspension of arms for its protection, to last no longer than till the Catalonians are reduced, and then the old pretensions of Spain to Portugal will be revived;" and Portugal, when once enslaved by Spain, falls naturally, with the rest of Europe, into the gulf of France. In the mean time, let us see what re-

invade the empire, and restore the Duke of Bavaria to his forfeited dominions.

"These incidents happen when the capital of Austria, the residence of his Imperial Majesty, is visited with the plague. The male line of that house is likely to terminate in himself, and should it please God to take him off, and no king of the Romans chosen, a prince of the House of Bourbon would probably bid fair for the imperial dignity; after which day, farewell liberty, Europe would be French." *Crisis*.

lief a little truth can give this unhappy kingdom. That Portugal has yet no more than a suspension of arms, they may thank themselves, because they came so late into the treaty, and that they came so late, they may thank the Whigs, whose false representations they were so weak as to believe. However, the queen has voluntarily given them a guarantee to defend them against Spain, until the peace shall be made, and such terms after the peace are stipulated for them, as the Portuguese themselves are contented with.

Having mentioned the Catalonians, he puts the question, "Who can name the Catalonians without a tear?" That can I, for he has told so many melancholy stories without one syllable of truth, that he has blunted the edge of my fears, and I shall not be startled at the worst he can say. What he affirms concerning the Catalonians, is included in the following particulars: First, "that they were drawn into the war by the encouragement of the maritime powers;" by which are understood England and Holland but he is too good a friend of the Dutch to give them any part of the blame. Secondly, that "they are now abandoned and exposed to the resentment of an enraged prince." Thirdly, that "they always opposed the person and interest of that prince," who is their present king. Lastly, that "the doom is dreadful of those who shall, in the sight of God, be esteemed their destroyers." And if we interpret the insinuation he makes, according to his own mind, the destruction of those people must be imputed to the present ministry.

I am sometimes, in charity, disposed to hope, that this writer is not always sensible of the flagrant falsehoods he utters, but is either biassed by an inclination to believe the worst, or a want

of judgment to choose his informers. That the "Catalonians" were "drawn into the war by the encouragement of her majesty," should not in decency have been affirmed, until about fifty years hence, when it might be supposed there would be no living witness left to disprove it. It was only upon the assurances of a revolt given by the Prince of Hesse and others, and then invitation, that the queen was prevailed with to send her forces upon that expedition. When Barcelona was taken, by a most unexpected accident of a bomb lighting on the magazine,* then indeed the Catalonians revolted, having before submitted and sworn allegiance to Philip, as much as any other province of Spain. Upon the peace between that crown and Britain, the queen, in order to ease the emperor, and save his troops, stipulated with King Philip for a neutrality in Italy, and that his imperial majesty should have liberty to evacuate Catalonia, upon condition of absolute indemnity of the Catalans, with an entire restitution to their honours, dignities, and estates. As this neutrality was never observed by the emperor, so he never effectually evacuated Catalonia; for, although he sent away the main body, he left behind many officers and private men, who now spirit up and assist those obstinate people to continue in their rebellion. It is true indeed that king Philip did not absolutely restore the Catalans to all their old privileges, of which they never made other use than as an encouragement to rebel; but admitted them to the same privileges with his subjects of Castile, particu-

* Or rather by the gallantry with which Lord Peterborough stormed the fortress of Monjouick,

laily to the liberty of trading, and having employments in the West Indies, which they never enjoyed before. Besides, the queen reserved to herself the power of procuring farther immunities for them, wherein the most Christian king was obliged to second her ; for, his Catholic majesty intended no more than to retrench those privileges, under the pretext of which they now rebel, as they had formerly done in favour of France. "How dreadful then must be the doom of those," who hindered these people from submitting to the gentle terms offered them by their prince ! and who, although they be conscious of their own inability to furnish one single ship for the support of the Catalans, are at this instant spurring them on to their ruin, by promises of aid and protection !

Thus much in answer to Mr Steele's account of the affairs of Europe, from which he deduces the universal monarchy of France, and the danger of I know not how many popish successors to Britain. His political reflections are as good as his facts "We must observe," says he, "that the person who seems to be the most favoured by the French king in the late treaties, is the duke of Savoy." Extremely right : for, whatever that prince got by the peace, he owes entirely to her majesty, as a just reward for his having been so firm and useful an ally ; neither was France brought with more difficulty to yield any one point, than that of allowing the duke such a barrier as the queen insisted on.

"He is become the most powerful prince in Italy." I had rather see him so than the emperor. "He is supposed to have entered into a secret and strict alliance with the house of Bourbon." This is one of those facts wherein I am

most inclined to believe the author, because it is what he must needs be utterly ignorant of, and therefore may possibly be true.

I thought indeed we should be safe from all popish successors as far as Italy, because of the prodigious clutter about sending the pretender thither. But they will never agree where to fix their longitude. The duke of Savoy is the more dangerous for removing to Sicily: he "adds to our fears" for being "too far off," and the Chevalier St George for being "too near." So, "whether France conquer Germany, or be in peace and good understanding with it," either event "will put us and Holland at the mercy of France, which has a quiver full of pretenders at its back, whenever the chevalier shall die"

This was just the logic of poor prince Butler, a splenetic madman, whom every body may remember about the town. Prince Pamphilio in Italy, employed emissaries to torment prince Butler here. But what if prince Pamphilio die? Why then he had left in his will, that his heirs and executors torment prince Butler for ever.

I cannot think it a misfortune, what Mr Steele affirms, "that treasonable books lately dispersed among us, striking apparently at the Hanover succession, have passed almost without observation from the generality of the people," because it seems a certain sign, that "the generality of the people" are well disposed to that illustrious family: but I look upon it as a great evil, to see seditious books "dispersed among us, apparently striking" at the queen and her administration, at the constitution in church and state, and at all religion, yet "passing without observation from the generality of" those in power. but whether this remissness may be imputed to Whitehall, or West-

minsterhall, is other men's business to inquire. Mr Steele knows in his conscience, that the Queries concerning the Pretender, issued from one of his own party. And as for the poor nonjuring clergyman, who was trusted with committing to the press a late book "on the subject of hereditary right," by a strain of a *summum jus*, he is now, as I am told, with half a score children, starving and rotting among thieves and pickpockets, in the common room of a stinking jail. * I have never seen either the book or the publisher; however, I would fain ask "one single person" † in the world a question; why he has so often drank the abdicated king's health upon his knees?—But the transition is natural and frequent, and I shall not trouble him for an answer.

It is the hardest case in the world, that Mr Steele should take up the artificial reports of his own faction, and then put them off upon the world, as "additional fears of a popish successor." I can assure him, that no good subject of the queen's is under the least concern, whether the pretender

* Swift follows Steele in his allusion to the trial of Hilknah Bedford, a non-juring clergyman, real or ostensible author of a work called "The hereditary right of the Crown of England asserted." As it was asserted by the Whigs, that the ministry had approved of the book, that Mr Secretary Bromley had been active in giving it circulation, and that the author had received the assistance of some manuscripts in the lord treasurer's library, they felt themselves obliged to animadvert upon the jacobitical tenets it contained. The printer was apprehended and examined. The author, or editor, then came forward, was tried, and sentenced to imprisonment in the Queen's Bench for three years, and to be pilloried in Westminster Hall. But the latter part of the punishment was remitted.

† Parker, afterwards earl of Macclesfield, is here meant. Perhaps his sense of the sarcasm made him treat the printer of the pamphlet with more severity, when brought into the King's Bench, at which he was then Lord Chief Justice.

be converted or not, * farther than their wishes that all men would embrace the true religion. But reporting backward and forward upon this point, helps to keep up the noise, and is a topic for Mr Steele to enlarge himself upon, by showing how little we can depend upon such conversions, by collecting a list of popish cruelties, and repeating after himself and the bishop of Sarum, the dismal effects likely to follow upon the return of that superstition among us.

But, as this writer is reported by those who know him, to be what the French call *journalier*, his fear and courage operating according to the weather in our uncertain climate; I am apt to believe the two last pages of his Crisis were written on a sunshiny day. Thus I guess from the general tenor of them, and particularly from an unwary assertion, which, if he believes as firmly as I do, will at once overthrow all his foreign and domestic fears of a popish successor. "As divided a people as we are, those who stand for the house of Hanover, are infinitely superior in number, wealth, courage, and all arts military and civil, to those in the contrary interest;" beside which, we have "the laws, I say, the laws on our side." The laws, I say, the laws. This elegant repetition is, I think, a little out of place, for the stress might better have been laid upon so great a majority of the nation; without which, I doubt the laws would be of little weight, although they be very good additional securities. And if what he here asserts be true, as it certainly is, although he

* Steele had alluded to the mission of Charles Lesley, the non-juror, who went to Bar Le Duc, on the hopeful scheme of converting the Chevalier St George to the English faith.

assert it (for I allow even the majority of his own party to be against the pretender) there can be no danger of a popish successor, except from the unreasonable jealousies of the best among that party, and from the malice, the avarice, or ambition of the worst; without which, Britain would be able to defend her succession, against all her enemies, both at home and abroad. Most of the dangers from abroad, which he enumerates as the consequences of this very bad peace made by the queen, and approved by parliament, must have subsisted under any peace at all; unless, among other projects equally feasible, we could have stipulated to cut the throats of every popish relation to the royal family.

Well, by this author's own confession, a number infinitely superior, and the best circumstantiated imaginable, are for the succession in the house of Hanover. This succession is established, confirmed, and secured by several laws; her majesty's repeated declarations, and the oaths of all her subjects, engage both her and them to preserve what those laws have settled. This is a security indeed, a security adequate at least to the importance of the thing; and yet, according to the Whig scheme, as delivered to us by Mr Steele and his coadjutors, is altogether insufficient; and the succession will be defeated, the pretender brought in, and popery established among us, without the farther assistance of this writer and his faction.

And what securities have our adversaries substituted in the place of these? A club of politicians, where Jenny Man presides; a Crisis written by Mr Steele; a confederacy of knavish stock-jobbers to ruin credit; a report of the queen's death; an effigy of the pretender run twice through the body by a valiant peer; a speech by

the author of the Crisis ; and, to sum up all, an unlimited freedom of reviling her majesty, and those she employs.

I have now finished the most disgusting task that ever I undertook. I could with more ease have written three dull pamphlets, than remarked upon the falsehoods and absurdities of one. But I was quite confounded last Wednesday, when the printer came with another pamphlet in his hand, written by the same author, and entitled, "The Englishman, being the Close of the Paper so called," &c. He desired I would read it over, and consider it in a paper by itself, which last I absolutely refused. Upon perusal, I found it chiefly an invective against Toby,* the ministry, the Examiner, the clergy, the queen, and the Post-boy ; yet, at the same time, with great justice exclaiming against those, who presumed to offer the least word against the heads of that faction, whom her majesty discarded. The author likewise proposes an "equal division of favour and employments," between the Whigs and Tories ; for, if the former "can have no part or portion in David, † they desire no longer to be his subjects." He insists, that "her majesty has exactly followed Monsieur Tugghe's memorial against the demolishing of Dunkirk." He reflects with "great satisfaction on the good already done to his country by the Crisis." *Non nobis, domine, non*

* Alluding to a pamphlet, which had, at this time, a great deal of popularity, entitled "The Character of Richard St--le, Esq with some remarks by TOBY, Abel's kinsman ; or, according to Mr Calancy, A F and N, in a letter to his Godfather," 12mo. 1713.

† What portion have we in David ? *Orig. Note.*

nobis, &c. He gives us hopes that he will leave off writing, "and consult his own quiet and happiness;" and concludes with "a letter to a friend at court." I suppose, by the style of "old friend," and the like, it must be somebody there of his own level, among whom his party have indeed more friends than I could wish. In this letter he asserts, that the present ministers were not educated in the church of England, but are "new converts from presbytery." Upon which I can only reflect, how blind the malice of that man must be, who invents a groundless lie in order to defame his superiors, which would be no disgrace if it had been a truth. And he concludes with making three demands "for the satisfaction of himself," and other "malecontents." First, "the demolition of the harbour of Dunkirk." Secondly, "that Great Britain and France would heartily join against the exorbitant power of the Duke of Lorraine, and force the pretender from his asylum at Bar le Duc." Lastly, "that his electoral highness of Hanover would be so grateful to signify to all the world the perfect good understanding he has with the court of England, in as plain terms as her majesty was pleased to declare she had with that house, on her part."

As to the first of these demands, I will venture to undertake it shall be granted; but then Mr Steele, and his brother malecontents, must promise to believe the thing is done, after those employed have made their report, or else bring vouchers to disprove it. Upon the second; I cannot tell whether her majesty will engage in a war against the Duke of Lorraine, to "force him to remove the pretender," but I believe, if the parliament should think it necessary to address upon such an occasion, the queen would move that

prince to send him away. His last demand, offered under the title of a wish, is of so insolent and seditious a strain, that I care not to touch it. Here he directly charges her majesty with delivering a falsehood to her parliament from the throne; and declares he will not believe her, until the elector of Hanover himself shall vouch for the truth of what she has so solemnly affirmed.

I agree with this writer, that it is an idle thing in his antagonists to trouble themselves upon the "articles of his birth, education, or fortune;" for whoever writes at this rate of his sovereign, to whom he owes so many personal obligations, I should never inquire whether he be a *gentleman born*, but whether he be a human creature.

A
L E T T E R
FROM THE
FACETIOUS DR ANDREW TRIPE,
AT BATH,
TO THE
VENERABLE NESTOR IRONSIDE.
WITH
AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECEPTION MR IRONSIDE'S
LATE PRESENT OF A GUARDIAN MET WITH FROM THE
WORSHIPFUL MR MAYOR, AND OTHER SUB-
STANTIAL INHABITANTS OF THAT
ANCIENT CITY
TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A PRESCRIPTION FROM THE DOCTOR,
BY WAY OF POSTSCRIPT,
EXACTLY SUITED TO HIS DISTEMPER.

The adventure of the Bear and Fiddle
Is sung, but breaks off in the middle.

HUD.

*Parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis
Astra ferar, nomenq. erit indelibile nostrum.*

OVID.

London, Printed for J. MORPHEW, near Stationers-Hall, 1714.
Price 6d.

LETTER FROM DR TRIPE, &c.

THIS letter seems to have internal marks of Swift's corrections, though chiefly written by one of those subordinate party authors whom he calls "his under spui-leathers." A1buthnot probably lent his aid, as may be conjectured from the profuse use of medical terms. The letter is a bitter satire upon Steele, who, the reader need hardly be reminded, wrote the Guardian, under the title of Nestor Ironside, and the Tatler, under that of Isaac Bickerstaff. The piece contains a satirical description of Steele's person; and, should the Editor be mistaken in conjecturing that Swift contributed to compose it, may nevertheless, at this distance of time, merit preservation as a literary curiosity.

The immediate occasion for the satire was given by the Guardian, No. 174, published 30th September, 1713, which is employed upon the state of the polite world at Bath, and concludes thus:—"Every man who hath received any benefit there, ought, in proportion to his abilities, to improve, adorn, or recommend it. A prince should found hospitals, and the noble and rich may diffuse their ample charities. Mr Tompion gave a clock to the Bath, and I, Nestor Ironside, have dedicated a Guardian."

The tract should regularly have been inserted amongst those imputed to Swift; but it seemed more desirable to place together all those which had reference to Steele.

A
LETTER
FROM THE
FACETIOUS DR TRIPE, &c.

RIGHT VENERABLE,

THAT aggregate philosopher, Mr Isaac Bickerstaff, of most memorable countenance, does, I remember, in several of his moral aphorisms, make very honourable mention of himself, for such of his essays, as were levelled at the general benefit of mankind; and, upon this head, does fairly give himself the preference to all the learned, his contemporaries, from Dr Sw---ft himself, even down to Poet Cr---spe of the Custom-house.

This, with due respect to his memory, savours somewhat more of self-love, than could be well expected from so unbiassed a philosopher: for I can see no reason, nor do I believe he himself could, why the elaborate productions of those who sweat hard to rescue the laudable actions of the town, or corporation, where they either were born, or of which they were inhabitants, from the jaws of oblivion, and transmit them with decency to posterity, should not deserve at least an equal encomium.

Upon this consideration, I have, with unwearied application, and no small expence in coffee and tobacco, perused all the neoteographical tracts, as

well foreign as domestic, lately published by those painful and accurate penmen, the news-writers, as the vulgar term them, that I might thoroughly inform myself what account they gave the world, of the magnificent reception, which the inhabitants of this ancient and noble city of Bath gave to the invaluable present, which you did them the honour lately to make them; and see whether they handled so important a point, with that nicety of truth, and majesty of style, that the history of so solemn a ceremony required. But, to my great astonishment, and much greater concern, I found them all, (to their discredit be it spoken) as silent upon the matter, as if such a thing had never been, *in rerum natura*; or at least had happened in the dark days of popery and ignorance.

It is true, it is hard to condemn so numerous and so eminent a body of learned men, in some whereof, it is possible, it might be unpremeditated omission: but in others, especially those of our own island, I cannot forbear thinking it was downright spleen and envy: and (God forgive me) I have a strong suspicion, that my very good friend, the indefatigable, and judicious Mr Abel, whom I look upon to be the president of all the Hebdomadal writers of this century, has a great deal to answer on this head. In love therefore to the town of Bath, to which I have the honour of being physician in ordinary: and, out of my most profound respect, Sir, for your venerable person, (whose unparalleled bounty I would gladly see perpetuated to all succeeding ages) I have diligently consulted our public records, and with utmost fidelity transcribed from them the following copy:—

“Sometime about the latter end of October,

Anno 12 Reginæ Annæ,^{*} as Mr Mayor, Mr Recorder, the facetious Dr Andrew Tripe (meaning your most humble servant) Mr Lenitive the apothecary, and several other worthy citizens, were, one afternoon at the coffee-house, gravely discoursing of politics, and were insensibly fallen into a polemical argument, upon this intricate and important question, Whether, in case the Pope of Rome should have a fancy to alter his state, and take unto him a wife, an act of parliament would be either a necessary, or a sufficient warrant for his so doing? While the point was discussed with that solidity of learning, and maturity of thought, that could be expected from a company of such bright men, especially upon so ticklish a subject, who should come in, but Mr Isaac Bickerstaff, intelligencer-general of the town, by whose earnest looks, and violent panting for breath, they soon perceived that he was big with some occurrence of moment, of which he wanted to be immediately delivered.

But, before I proceed any further in this great undertaking, I find myself obliged, most learned sage, by the rules of method, to make a small digression, in order to give you a cursory description of the person, parts, and profession of Mr Isaac Bickerstaff, because I conceive it to be a preliminary absolutely requisite towards the right understanding of this great history, and because without such digression (according to agreement with my bookseller) this my letter would not make so considerable a figure as to reach the price of six-pence, which however, as it is *inter nos*, I desire may remain a secret between me and my reader.

^{*} Regist. ann. 12 Reginæ Annæ. fol. 36.

Mr Isaac, you must know, sir, is much about your own age and size, and, if I may credit those who pretend to know you, not unlike you in the face. He is of a saturnine complexion, not without some visible indications of suffering much by the obstructions in the *hippocondria*, from whence heavy and caliginous fumes continually ascending to the region of his head, do powerfully invade the territory of his brain, where, meeting with little resistance, through the too much natural imbecility of the part, they make a most sad havock in the *glandula pinealis*. This renders him anxious all the while he is awake, disturbs him when asleep, and makes him dream of nothing else but chains, gallics, gibbets, raw-heads and bloody bones, by the terrifying relation of which, he often frightens many of the children of her majesty's good subjects from their bread and butter.

He has naturally a downcast foreboding aspect, which they of the country hereabouts call a hanging look, and an unseemly manner of staring, with his mouth wide open, and under-lip propending, especially when any ways disturbed; which is a vehement diagnosis, that there is a great relaxation in the optic nerves, by which their communication with the *pia mater* is become unactive, and the poignancy of the intellects rendered obtuse.

He takes a great deal of pains to persuade his neighbours, that he has a very short face, and a

* The reader cannot have forgot this circumstance, in the description of the Spectator. It corresponded with the conformation of Swift's own visage, and is, in this paragraph, invidiously contrasted with the Roman nose of William III.

little flat nose, like a diminutive wart, in the middle of his visage, because he was told once by a Dutch fortune-teller, that high hooked noses were very ominous, and denoted cowardice, whereas that other symmetry was an infallible indication of choler predominant, which he hopes, may upon occasion supply his natural want of courage.

His eyes are large and prominent, too big of all conscience for the conceited narrowness of his phiz, and have been for some years very subject to an infirmity, which we doctors call the *gutta-serena*; and though he has been often told of the wonderful cures lately performed by the famous opthalmist Dr Henrick, all over the kingdom, he will not be persuaded to make use of him, but calls him quack, at the same time that he knows full well, that the honest doctor is allowed by the college to practice, after a most rigorous examination.

His back, though not very broad, is well turned, and will bear a great deal; I have seen him myself, more than once, carry a vast load of timber. His legs also are tolerably substantial, and can stride very wide upon occasion; but the best thing about him, is a handsome pair of heels, which he takes special pride to shew, not only to his friends, but even to the very worst of his enemies.

As to his parts, he sets up for a virtuoso, a philosopher, and what not! And does not only believe it himself, but has persuaded others too, that he has a monstrous wit: one day, he gave bills about for folks to come and see it, but unadvisedly demanding two pence a-piece, he was hissed, and hooted at, in a most unbecoming man-

ner.* This made him afterwards be somewhat cautious, how he ventured abroad with it; and it is observed, that, almost ever since, all his discourses have been gravely dull, without the least larding of wit.

Notwithstanding this, men of as profound parts as himself do really allow, that he has not only a genius naturally adapted to schemes and projects, but was actually the first inventor of certain surprising paper machines, which, by only looking upon them, make people almost as wise as they were before, to the great wonder and satisfaction of all the beholders. It was he also that first discovered, that the chin of man was a musical instrument, and taught boys how to play upon it; a harmony indeed altogether unknown to antiquity. And I am credibly informed, that he has now almost brought to perfection a system, for fixing the moveable feasts, after so wonderful a manner, that from this present year one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, to the year seventeen thousand and twenty-four, inclusive, Easter-day may always fall on a Sunday; which must needs be of vast use towards reconciling the ill natured difference so long maintained betwixt the Julian and Gregorian account.

He has moreover an exquisite faculty in finding out the harmony of monosyllables, by the help of which he can easily muster, upon occasion, a power of pretty sounding words, signifying nothing. This he calls his art of leology, that is, of saying a great deal to little purpose, and de-

* The Spectator in consequence of the tax on loose pamphlets, was raised to twopence a number, but did not long survive that enhancement of price.

signs it for a perpetual fund to pay his debts with.

It is reported by some, that he has attained the menstruum of Hermes, and can make the basest of Dutch coin pass for true sterling. Others will have it, that he dreams with his eyes open; can dissolve ice by the help of fire, and tell boys, by looking in their faces, if their noses stand awry; for which he has been reputed a necromancer. But his master-talent lies in picking up and retailing of threadbare stories; and it is to his wonderful sagacity herein, that we of this town owe the first hints of the death of that worshipful knight, Sir Roger de Coverly. But there is a dreadful misfortune attends him, that as he seldom speaks truth, so he is seldom or never believed—and as he not only will invent most unmerciful relations of matters here and there transacted, so he has another property, that for the heart's blood of him, he cannot tell a story as it is told him, but let it be never so often repeated, will be sure to endeavour to adorn it with his own flourishes, and the gentle reader is often disappointed, when he thinks himself sure of knowing something; which, whether it proceeds from any lesion, or defect in the cerebellum, from a natural dulness of apprehension, or a *deceptio visus* of his memory, will appear one of these days, when his brains come, after a decent execution, to be dissected at Surgeon's-hall.

Although some invidious persons have endeavoured, by oblique hints, to suggest, that he is no scholar, it is a most malicious insinuation, for, to my own knowledge, he went sometimes to school, when he was a boy, and I can solemnly affirm, that, besides a curious dissertation which

he has lately published upon the liberty and property of the three great contending rivals, WHO, THAT, and WHICH,^{*} and the entertaining dialogues betwixt the Watchman and his Goose,[†] this very individual Mr Isaac Bickerstaff has actually in the press, a most elaborate treatise, which must needs be of inconceivable emolument to such of the inhabitants of this island, as can neither read nor write, of which, I am told, the generality of his subscribers consist. In this learned piece, it is said, he has demonstrated, almost mathematically, with what brightness and vivacity he can abstract acts of parliament; and that, to the no little mortification of some nocturnal pens-takers about the temple, he has made as great a proficiency in the law, as ever he did in physic or divinity, or any other art or science.

His elocution is not what ought to be least admired; and, bating that he is very apt sometimes to mistake one thing for another, I know no man alive will talk more of matters altogether beyond his reach, which I take to proceed from hence, that, having had his first education in a coffee-house, where such bright men as you and I did usually resort, and heard them frequently discourse of the interest of England, balance of Europe, exorbitant growth of France, danger of popery, prerogative of the crown, rights of the people, power of parliament, Magna Charta, religion, liberty, property, commerce, navigation, and the like, he was so charmed with the sound, that, without troubling his head in the least about the true meaning of those terms, he got a reason-

^{*} Spectator, Nos. 78. 80.

[†] Ibid. No. 370.

able quantity of them by heart, which he repeats at random in all company, and has in a great measure persuaded himself into a belief, that his being so often in the room where these gentlemen used to talk, is reason enough for him to understand the matter as well as they did,—like Bessus the Centurion, of whom a certain author of great antiquity writes, that he fancied himself to be unmeasurably valiant, because he happened once to march along with an army of fifty thousand gallant Lacedæmonians; or that other extraordinary person, I think his name was Rhodomontadoides, mentioned somewhere by Strabo, who having but a bare promise once of seeing the Roman senate in a full house, it so tickled his fancy, that he already believed himself wise enough to prescribe laws to the whole empire

I must not undertake, O wise man, to inform you exactly, what religion he is of; for though he will shake the parson of the parish familiarly by the hand, make him a reverend bow as he passes by, and follow him sometimes to the church; yet he declares publicly, that he cannot be reconciled to the church-wardens, for suffering the pulpit to stand too high, or rather for suffering the pew to stand by the pulpit

Profaneness and immorality are what he cannot justly be taxed with, for he has a discreet woman to his wife, who keeps a very strict hand over him, and, by giving him now and then due and wholesome correction, makes him live within decent bounds; for which, though he dares not mutter a syllable within her hearing, for fear of the strapado, he rails most bitterly at petticoat government, behind her back, and says, it is a burning shame, that women should be suffered to

have so great a sway, when there are so many good men in Germany. *

One thing I had like to have forgot, and that is, his most profound skill in the rules of motion, especially that branch of it that relates to dancing, which he defines, "an epitome of all human learning." And I am told by an intimate of his, that he has now ready for the press, several curious essays upon the several parts of that truly noble and comprehensive science, wherein he proves, by arguments physical, musical, and mathematical, that dancing is not only the *primum mobile* of all arts and sciences, but that the motion of the sun, moon, and other celestial bodies, is but a sort of a Cheshire round, which they dance to the music of the spheres. And moreover, that the principal seat of human souls, especially those of the fair sex, is in the heels, of which he gives this as an experimental demonstration, that whenever you take a woman fast hold by them, it is ten to one but her soul is your own, besides several other new and valuable discoveries, too many to be inserted here, which I pass *euphonic gratia*, to come to his profession.

This was lately what, in some sense, might be termed martial; for he was a squire in the militia, and in a fair way of mounting in time to the dignity of provost, but, having a natural aversion to that French familiar way of hitting one another most ungentlemanlike blows, too frequent amongst military men, he judiciously laid aside

* This paragraph contains a satirical allusion to the discipline exercised over poor Steele by his lady, and also to his zeal for the succession of the House of Hanover, whose interest the text would insinuate, he preferred to that of Queen Anne.

his halbert, and is now saluted by the name of doctor.

I cannot omit inserting here, that some have industriously spread a report, that he formerly had got his living, as his father had done before him, by subverting and new modelling the ancient constitution of English beards in church and state; and was, what we vulgarly call a barber, from the Latin word *barba*, which, according to some authors of note and antiquity, signifies, you know, that portion of hair, that grows upon human faces. But I do *bona fide* look upon this part of the story to be altogether apocryphal.

As to his present circumstances, I can vouch for him, that he is above all such calumnies, and in a fair way of soon having the whip hand of all the malignants that oppose him; for he has not only a prospect of being beadle of his parish, if the church-wardens will but approve of his election, but has already a magisterial recipe, with which he does not doubt, if you believe his printed bills, to cure all such of our countrymen, as are troubled with the heart-burn, and grumblings in the gizzard, provided, they will but religiously abstain from mentioning the two fatal words, Nantz, and Boudeaux, which, with immense labour and study, he has lately discovered to be impregnated with an occult quality highly destructive to the English commerce.

He extols to the very sky his new method of preparing Steele-pills, with which he proposes in time to open all the obstructed spleens of this nation. This is also a narcotic and a nosterium: but his *arcanum magnum* is, his *emplastrum pro nucha*, which, I am fully satisfied, is a specific catholicon for all distempers if rightly applied, and tied on *secundum artem* under the left ear.

This he has studied *ex professo* for the present ease and relief of such of his friends as are not very well in their minds ; and I hope they will find the benefit of it. It is a noble preparation of hemp-seed, which he holds to be that true seed of the right female fern, so mightily cured up by modern philosophers.

All these great points thus duly premised, it is not improbable, but that in the frontispiece of a well bound book, you may one of these days meet with this great man's *vera effigies*, handsomely cut, and underneath it, his name Isaacus Bickerstaffus printed at full length, with an *anno ætat* &c and the additional title of *medicus* ; which he may very well do, if what a modern critic of stupenduous erudition observes in his annotations upon Horace, be true, that the words *medicus*, and *madicus* were antiently usurped by most of the Arabian writers, to signify the self same thing, though of late days they are quite of a different acceptation.

Having thus far, most venerable sage, trespassed upon your patience, and given you succinctly such items as were absolutely necessary, I think myself obliged to acquaint you what opinion some persons have conceived of you and of your late behaviour, and correspondence with the inimitable Mr Bickerstaff.

There are, I can assure you, who with confidence have reported, that your new acquaintance has debauched your principles, and since his declaring himself of the profession, he has given you some bewitching philtre, by which he has gained an absolute ascendant over your will and understanding, and instilled such notions into you as are altogether heterodox, antimonarchical, and unworthy of your character. It has been spread

abroad, that, like Sir Sydiophel of old, he has persuaded you, that the clouds were enchanted castles, filled with aims, ammunition, magic spells and soiceiers, and that with squibs and crackers, and stink-pots, you have attempted to demolish them. I wish I could recount all the stories told concerning you, how many ridiculous pamphlets you have wrote, what pranks you have played, what goods you have disposed of, how many sorts of strong-waters you are used to drink in twenty-four hours, and who has been forced to pay the reckoning, what deliriums you have run into, how you have asserted, that every man in England is accountable to you, and, as the representative of the whole British nation, have drawn up memorials concerning her majesty's mal-administration, and, in the name of all her subjects, demanded justice of her against herself. One thing, Sir, I more particularly remember they said of you, and which is scarcely possible to be believed, that you attempted to make an Englishman of Teague. It is strange, says I to some gentlemen who were talking after this manner, how one man may be mistaken in another. I remember this old man, he was one of my patients; but little did I think he was such a dangerous person as you have represented him; he always appeared to me a good-natured, sociable, facetious gentleman, and indeed I took him for one of those old wits, who are naturally very costive, such as I have often met with in the course of my practice, for besides his being subject to a fistula and flux of the hemorrhoids, the sphincter of the anus was broke with the immoderate use of suppositories. An humourist he was indeed, it is true, and somewhat too tenacious of his own opinion, but, setting that aside, I don't know I

have met with a man of late years, which seemed to be more entertaining and inoffensive conversation, especially, says I, in the back room at Button's

I told them, how you had seen King Harry, the last of that name, in hanging-sleeves, of your first appearance in the commonwealth of learning, about March last; and how at these years you had consecrated your studies to the service of the ladies, in short, Sir, I concealed nothing that would tend to your advantage, or take off the calumnies that I was conscious were the inhospitable endeavours of wicked men to blacken you, and I now must beg your leave to proceed regularly, and to knot the thread of my story where I broke it off in the beginning.

"Mr Bickerstaff was scarce seated, when, turning himself abruptly to the company, gentlemen, says he, this is a wonderful age we live in, and a great many most surprising things are daily to be met with in it, which escape the observation of us, that are learned, and yet are taken notice of by the illiterate people of low life. Mr Sly, the attorney, is just arrived from London, and has put me in mind of two most remarkable things, which, though I have said that way above a dozen times, I never reflected on before. The one is, that, by exact calculation, he has found the road from London to Bath, to be every whit as long as that from Bath to London. The other, that, let the weather be never so uncertain, the weathercock, for the most part, points to that corner that the wind blows from

"A third thing he likewise told me, and indeed the most material of all, but I made such haste to come and acquaint you with it, that I vow and profess, I have quite forgot what it was, and

yet, if my memory does not fail me, it was of the greatest consequence to this city of Bath, of any perhaps that has happened since the Revolution. But alas ! *memoria hominis* is but a leaky vessel ; And it was the saying of a very wise statesman, that “ it is but bad walking in slippery weather : ” However, it is no small comfort, to be able to recollect what is not possible to be remembered. But it is not given to all folks, I find, to be as wise as some, for this substantial reason, that the longer we live, the older we grow. In short, gentlemen, *quod dixi, dixi* ; I told you my author, *hisce oculis audiui*. You may ask him, he is of age, and an attorney, who would no more tell an untruth than any one of his profession.

“ The world, I hope, will allow, that I am a learned man, and a wise man ; and will always, I believe, lay that stress upon my sayings, as not to put any other body’s whatsoever in competition with them, without the least detriment to characters, or professions. Besides, *dato sed non concesso*, that I have forgot it, the most you can make on it is, that such extraordinary wits as mine are generally attended with the want of memory ; for which, however, that of solid judgment does always make ample atonement ”

And now perhaps, Sir, when this letter comes to be printed, it may be expected, that I should make good my promise in the title page, concerning the reception of your present, and what answer the company returned to this more than common rhetorician. Pardon me, O courteous reader, for already detaining thee so long, it is better for both you and me to be at rest, after we have travelled lovingly together for so many tedious pages. If I have time and opportunity, I may once more perhaps, to the satisfaction of r-

both, uncase my spectacles to peruse the records, which, according to the late canto, may afford us

Fit matter for another song

I am not, I am sensible, the first modern who has fell short of his title-page, diverse and sundry examples have I before my eyes, of poets, critics, commentators, philosophers, and politicians, who have played the same game in all places, and in all ages of the world. Several precedents, most learned sage, could I deduce out of your own works, and the Lucubrations of Mr Bickerstaff, of matters begun, but never ended, done and undone, to the surprise of all your readers, of acts of parliament, proved unalterable, by the same power that made them, in an advertisement, and dropt, because it was high treason to assert it upon the publication of *The Crisis*.

Thus far, O wise man, with much labour and diligence, have I brought this great work to the wished for conclusion, and by carefully comparing the coffee-house oration with the original, do find, that it is religiously exact. Come I therefore to appeal to your own learned self, whether the great Bickerstaff was not too partial, in ascribing such pre-eminence to those speculations, which he writ, filed, and polished at his own leisure, whereas, the time which I employed in gathering materials for this valuable performance, was stolen from the hours of my natural rest, after having, for the good of my country, spent all the live-long day, as the poets express themselves, *intivus, et quadrivus*, delivering my salutiferous instructions to all comers and goers, and exposed to the rigour of the seasons, under the wide canopy of heaven. But as I have

this comfort, that I underwent this great fatigue, purely to rescue the city where I generally reside, from the imputation of ingratitude, which otherwise it might be liable to, so I may, without vanity, say, that I have *uno ictu*, purchased to myself by it the veneration of the learned world, my own private satisfaction, and the thanks of my fellow citizens, whose hearty acknowledgments likewise, as well as my own, I return you, most antient sage, for your desirable present. And, as I do not question, but you will, for the public good, and your own credit, be at the charges of reprinting this authentic monument of your liberality, so I desire, there may be copies enough to furnish every family in England with one. And because other nations may also reap the benefit of your labours, I have not only prevailed with my learned acquaintance, Mr Griffith Evans ap Rice, professor of the Cambrian tongue at Oxford, to translate them into Welch, but have sent also copies of them into Ireland, to the renowned antiquary Cormack O Cuillinane, and to old Gillaspick Mackintosh, chief Chronographer of the Highland Clans of Scotland, from whom I have lately received some curious memoirs, with which I may perhaps, one of these days, oblige the commonwealth of learning. And as I am well satisfied of the place which I have gained in your most wise esteem, by this my vast undertaking, so I beg leave to assure you, that I shall be ready, upon all occasions, to let the world know of your great merit, and how much I am,

Learned, wise, and venerable Sir,

Your most humble,

And most devoted servant,

A. TRIPE, M. D.

Bath, Nov. 16 1713.

POSTSCRIPT.

I HAD no sooner finished my letter, most venerable sage, but, reflecting on the happiness, which we that are learned do now enjoy, by living in the same age with you, I could not but be pleased to think, that when posterity shall peruse your learned productions, and inquire who were your contemporaries, what a handsome mention will be made of myself, upon the account of my correspondence with you. This, as it could not but be a most sensible satisfaction to me, so it naturally led me into the melancholy thought, of what an irreparable loss the public would sustain by the death of so valuable a person, and remembering, that I heard of your being lately afflicted with a continual dizziness in your head, and a sudden dimness in your sight, I immediately writ to my two worthy friends, Sir William R----d, and Cornelius a Tilb-ig, who, as they were formerly the ornament of the stage itineiant, so now they are an honour to the profession, and begged of them to send me a full account of the causes, nature, use, and progress of your malady. They acquitted themselves herein with a great deal of generosity and erudition, and from their learned observations, I immediately comprehended, that the chief origin of those chronic distempers proceeded from your immoderate feeding upon sallads; not only such as were picked and prepared by master-cooks, as Sidney and

Locke, but likewise those that were hastily dished up by the unskilful, Tutchin and Ridpath, &c, which, creating too many crudities in the stomach, do continually transmit to the upper region a strange chaos of black, heavy, and indigested vapours, that do not only overpower the innate imbecility of the brain, but also obstruct the passages of the optic nerves, from whence those stubborn affections of your head and eyes do naturally follow

Hereupon I zealously applied myself, night and day, to consult the most valuable nostrums of all our celebrated oracles, and with joy and satisfaction have excepted from them a medicine of the greatest virtue, which, in the name of the worshipful Mr Mayor, and the rest of his brethren, I have sent you by the carrier, in three gallipots, as a grateful return for your late present.

This, by the natural antipathy of the ingredients, will work powerfully upon the crudities, correct the peccant humours, and you will soon find the powerful effects of it. It is a sudorific, diuretic, carminative, and a soporific. It immediately puts all the humours in a ferment, separates the good from the bad, attracts to itself, by an occult sympathy, all the rebellious particles, dissolves them in a trice, and scowls all before it like a scavenger. Take the quantity of a nutmeg, *horis medicis*

Outwardly, you must apply to the region of the heart, a plaster of the *rubrum henrici*, and wash your eyes twice a-day with the opthalmic water I prescribed to you when at Bath

But in case your distemper should prove so obstinate as not to yield to these most sovereign remedies, your last refuge must be a cataplasm of hemp, applied cravatwise to your neck, which,

though in its operation it be somewhat violent, yet it is an infallible one, if rightly used, according to that celebrated observation of one of our learned predecessors.

This, with a juk, will do your work, and cure you o'er and o'er ;
Read, judge, and try, and if you die, never believe me more.

Let your diet be regular, and drink good wines, and of the best growth. But, by all means, you must renounce Holland geneva, and Brunswick mum, for one corrupts your lungs, and the other stupifies your intellects.

If you observe exactly the method of these prescriptions, as I hope you will, I don't doubt, but that, in a little time, you will be generous enough to acknowledge, that our present is a match for your own, and that whatever advantage you may have over us in years and learning, you have none in the point of liberality.

Yours,

Ut Supra.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME

EDINBURGH

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